

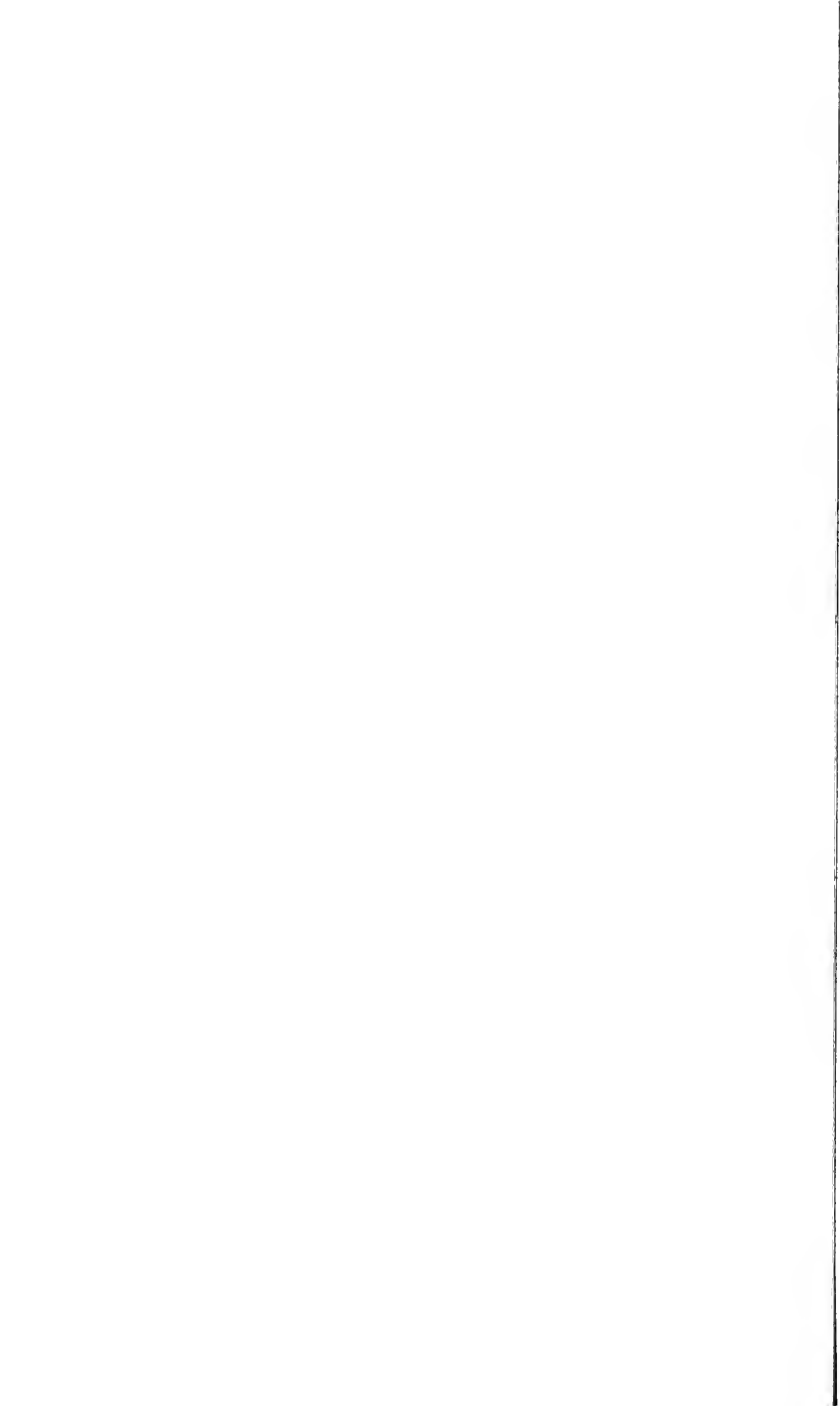
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THE

Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama

By

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*But knowledge to their eyes, her ample page,
Rich with the spoils of time, did ne'er unroll;
Chill penury repressed their noble rage
And froze the genial currents of the soul.*
—Gray.

*“Ich fürchte nicht die Schrecken der Natur,
Wenn ich des Herzens wilde Qualen zähme.”*



CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION AND VIEWPOINT.....	7
The Importance of the Subject and My Interest In It.	

CHAPTER II.

THE PAST HISTORY.....	13
Causes of Immigration—Not a Moral Question—The Cause and Continuance Were Economic—Methods and Reasons for Emancipation—The Condition at Freedom Was "Sans Everything"—Different Tribal Stocks.	

CHAPTER III.

THE PRESENT LOCATION.....	22
The Number in the State—The Number in Cities by Sex—Essentially a Rural People, but Not Evenly Distributed.	

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL DIFFERENCES.....	27
Social Differences Open Some, but Close Other, Economic Possibilities—Low Morals and Irresponsibilities Also Determining Factors—Social Differences Operate among All Peoples and Different Classes of the Same People—Treatment by Slave Owner, Yeoman, and Poor White—Prison Life Based Partially on Social Differences—Though Race Antipathy Is Common, the Negro Has Received Much Good from the Whites.	

CHAPTER V.

THE STATE'S RESOURCES.....	43
Fruits—Nuts—Live Stock—The Value of Stock Owned by Negroes—Minerals—Manufactured Products—Methods of Communication—Crops of Cotton—Diversification in Several Counties—The Factors in Production—The Place of Capitalist and Wage Earner.	

6 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

CHAPTER VI.

PAGE.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NEGRO INDUSTRIALLY IN ALABAMA	53
---	----

Classes in Society Help or Hinder Each Other—The Negro Increases in Various Industries—A Comparison with the Whites in Gainful Occupations—A Comparison with the German—Any Scheme to Better the Land, to Diversify Crops, and to Increase the General Wealth of the State Must Include the Negro.

CHAPTER VII.

SOME ELEMENTS OF INEFFICIENCY.....	58
------------------------------------	----

Unreliability—Shiftlessness—Theft—Narrow Training—Lack of Independence—Slow Workers—The Credit System—Absence of Family Life—Immorality—Void of Initiative—The Place of Labor Unions—Health.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORCES FOR EFFICIENCY.....	71
----------------------------	----

Education and Possessions—Is the Negro Capable of Receiving an Education?—Two Kinds of Education Urged by Advanced Negroes—The Type of Schools Now Used—Literacy and Illiteracy—No Compulsory Education—Benefits Conferred by Education—Disfranchisement—The Power of Wealth—Wealth Necessary for Raising and Satisfying Cultural Wants—Property Owned by Negroes—Problems Not Seriously Considered—Will the White Man Deal with the Negro as He Did with the Indian?

CHAPTER IX.

THE UPLIFTING AGENT.....	97
--------------------------	----

Education the Agent for Economic Betterment—The Lack of Seriousness in Education, Even for Whites, in Public Schools, Colleges, and Universities—The Condition of Elementary Education for Negroes—A Suggested Plan for a New Order.

REFERENCE BOOKS.....	107
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THE NEGRO AS AN ECONOMIC FACTOR IN ALABAMA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION AND VIEWPOINT.

It is very easy for one who is entirely ignorant of the negro question to give utterance to false views concerning the advancement of the race. It is not difficult for one who is wholly out of sympathy with the race to magnify the negro's stupidity, to believe that he was designed from the beginning of his creation to forever remain a "hewer of wood and a drawer of water."

Well-meaning but misguided reformers, especially among the Northern whites,¹ and the inflammatory utterances of the injudicious blacks, have unquestionably retarded the progress of the negro race. No one doubts that the motive in each case was good, but, unfortunately, motives and results are not always identical.

After hearing pathetic recitals concerning his squalor, poverty and ignorance, men and women of means of other sections of our country have been moved to help the negro of the South. They centered on education as the best means to eradicate these evils. So extraterritorial white teachers came into our midst to instruct the negro youth.² This act,

¹International Encyclopedia, Vol. XIV., p. 340, article "Negro Education."

²International Encyclopedia, Vol. XIV., p. 340, article "Negro Education," and article on John Brown (1800-1850) in Vol. LII., p. 359.

wrong or right, greatly embittered the Southern whites against these teachers, and hence social ostracism was their portion. They were not welcomed in the South by the white people, nor were they received into polite society. The years that have intervened between the surrender of Gen. Robert E. Lee and this very date show no material change in this regard. We do not have to go far to find a reason. It was impossible for the slave of yesterday to be looked upon by the erstwhile owner as his equal to-day.

This would-be uplift of the negro race by education in point of time, though not as a necessary accompaniment, came along coevally with one of the most nefarious and dastardly vile practices ever sanctioned by the Federal government—the reign of the scalawag and the carpetbagger.³

These unfortunate experiments accentuated the bitterness of the defeat of the South and hence postponed for years the amicable relation which should have existed between the whites and the blacks of the South. So the sympathetic and constructive native whites had to uproot the evil of the form of that system which instilled a rebellious spirit in the negroes, for they were taught that the Southern white man was their enemy. At last the whole nation has discovered that the elevation of the race will come best and quickest by no intervention from abroad, but by a mutual attempt to harmonize the discordant elements that exist and to develop the best qualities in both races. This attempt will, no doubt, put a premium on the virtues of each class, while the evils

³World's Best Histories, Vol. VIII., Chapter V., pp. 110-125.

will receive their justly deserved disfavor. The rational justification for the investment of any life or any expenditure of money is that there shall be an adequate return for such an investment or expenditure. That a commensurate return is possible from every school built, equipped and maintained for the youth of any people is not an open question, but the methods employed in the management of the school may be of doubtful propriety.

My ancestors were all slave owners. From them I inherited the customary attitude which the slave owner assumes toward the slave. I was reared in direct contact and in personal association with many of the old slaves—ex-slaves. Though freed, the majority of them voluntarily remained on my father's farm. So great was his kindness to them and so immeasurable was their affection for "Old Master" that they refused to leave when dowered with freedom. Their sentiment was amply expressed for them in the words of Ruth to Naomi.⁴ Only a few remain to-day, since the most of them have died. Just recently one passed away who was nearly one hundred and five years old. The negro's superstitions, folklore, religious proclivities, and social customs are well known to me.

On the other hand, my Church, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, gives an annual donation to negro schools for the better equipment of their teachers and preachers.⁵

⁴Bible, Ruth, Chapter I., verses 16, 17.

⁵Negro Yearbook, 1917, p. 20; also report of Woman's Missionary Society, 1915, at Little Rock, Ark., published by Smith & Lamar, Nashville, Tenn.

10 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

Some of my most highly esteemed friends are teachers and social workers among them. With an inherited tradition on the one hand and a sympathetic interest for the race on the other, I feel that I can approach the question of the economic interest dispassionately and impartially.

The task in hand is more than an attempt merely to describe the economic question as it relates to the negro. It is not, however, an attempt to solve such a problem. For such a question, like all moral and social principles, will forever lie in the state of process. Such questions require a continuous adaptation to new environment and such an adjustment as will be perpetually progressive.

To rightly understand our subject we must remember that we are not studying the question of a slave nor the larger question of slavery. We must remember that we are studying the present attainment of a section of a race living in Alabama in the twentieth century. The methods of transportation and world communication are vastly different now from those of any other age in point of swiftness and efficiency. Competition is keener than ever before and is ever tightening. We are a changing group in a changing world. "Time makes ancient good uncouth." So to discuss the economic force of the negro from an ideal state is one thing, but to study it from the real state is another. Precisely we must study the question of a man who hails from the division of the human family that as yet has shown no marked ability as a leader in the world's progress. We are to observe a man who is only one generation from slavery and from three to five generations re-

moved from savagery. This crude man is placed by the side of another race that is virile, rich, educated, skilled, and numerous. We cannot theorize as to where he ought to go in the ascending scale of progress nor where he has a right to go; but we take him as we find him, not in the legal or other professions, not as a banker or capitalist, and not as a captain of industry, though he is in all of these in a limited way, but we discuss his record as it really has been made—the record of an uneducated and poorly-equipped farmer.

The attention of social workers, sympathetic friends, and leaders of that race is called to the conclusions herein reached. To cure any disease we must treat, not the symptom, but the originating cause. We have no theory of a personal character to advance in this study; we have simply followed in a scientific way wherever the facts in history have led. The evidence in the case seems to be this:

(a) Potentially, the negro is an asset to the State, but actually he is a burden, conditioned on his ignorance.

(b) The State has capitalized his vices, but has neglected his virtues.

(c) Development must be along racial lines. Progress will not be made by an attempt to obliterate social distinctions, to submerge racial characteristics, or to amalgamate races; but progress depends upon the awakening of the negro's love for his own poets, sculptors, actors, and musicians. He has gifts which are purely racial, so his culture must be distinctly his own.

(d) His achievement should be viewed not only by

12 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

the height of his present attainment, but cognizance of the deep pit of his previous condition should be remembered.

In this study we neither moralize nor theorize. We pursue the method of describing, of analyzing, and of setting forth the cause of certain phenomena operative for good or ill in an economic way in the negro race. This is done by an examination of his origin, present location, number, habits, professions, industries, causes of inefficiency, causes of efficiency, the influence of race antipathy and race conflict, his life as a criminal and as a freeman, the meaning of the change in agricultural systems, and other causes and conditions which narrow, enlarge, or modify his economic position in Alabama. This furnishes a basis and viewpoint of our discussion.

CHAPTER II.

THE PAST HISTORY.

LET us now examine the past history of the negro in order to give him a proper valuation. German immigration in the past has been the result of economic conditions which were forced by the direct and indirect effects of war or of religious oppression. Italian immigration, which is sometimes permanent and sometimes only seasonal, is now altogether based on economic grounds. In some nations societies have existed for the purpose of helping emigrants to other countries or to some sparsely-settled colony of some particular country in question.¹ Such a person helped was known as a redemptioner or indented servant. Also there were the pauper and criminal classes, which were sent out of England to America and sometimes to Australia.² Sometimes we see a migration going on within the territorial limits of a country, an example of which we find among the American Indians.³ But the negro differs from all of these peoples. He is here by no choice of his own. He was captured, sold, and brought here as live stock. Certainly all negroes that were purchased in slave markets never reached American shores, for the mortality rate was fearfully high on the seas. The ship companies were not under strict laws nor under enlightened sanitary regulations. The long voyage of six or ten weeks' duration over the waters, the crowded condition of the slaves on board, together

¹E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 67. ²*Idem.*, p. 68.

³F. E. Leupp, *In Red Man's Land*, pp. 39-63.

with the rough treatment received, made many an easy prey for disease.

The question of the beginning and the continuance of slavery in the United States was not solely a moral question. Professor Callender⁴ gives this quotation: "The infernal spirit of Abraham and Joshua, of Socrates and Plato, of Cicero and Seneca, of Alfred the Great, of Las Casas, who laid the foundation of negro slavery in America, of Baltimore, Penn, and Washington! These names alone show that the spirit of the slave master is not that love of oppression and cruelty which the exercise of unlimited power over his fellow creatures is apt to beget in man; that infernal spirit is, and not universally, a mere effect of keeping slaves." Whitfield and Jonathan Edwards both believed that slavery was an ordinance of God.⁵ Wheeden gives this quotation: "George Downing, afterwards Sir George, then a clergyman, writes to John Winthrop from the West Indies: 'If you go to Barbados, you will see a flourishing island and many able men. I believe they have bought this year no lesse than a thousand negroes; and the more they buie, the better able they are to buie, for in a yeare and a halfe they will earn (with God's blessing) as much as they cost.'" However, it was not a question of a right or a wrong so much as it was a question of making money by means of such traffic and

⁴G. F. Callender, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 742.

⁵J. F. Rhodes, *History of United States*, Vol. I., p. 5.

⁶W. B. Weedon, *Economic and Social History of New England*; E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 71.

of receiving justifiable returns by the use of slave labor

The first negro slaves were brought to Virginia in 1619, and they increased to two thousand in 1670.⁷ These slaves were brought in a Dutch vessel. The first ship fitted for such purpose in the English colonies sailed from Boston in 1670. Naturally, since the Northern whites could not work the negroes with profit, they were sold in large numbers to the whites of the South. Here they could be used on the plantations effectively, as they could endure both heat and malaria.⁸ "The right" or wrong of slavery we do not discuss nor attempt to determine who was responsible therefor. The latter geographic limitations of slavery in the United States were determined, not by conscience, but by climatic conditions. It was the climate at the North and the cotton gin at the South that regulated the distribution of slave labor. I have scant respect for a conscience too sensitive to own certain property because it is immoral, but which without compunction will sell the same to another at full market value. Had the slave owners of the North manumitted their slaves and not sold them because their labor ceased to be profitable, there would have been more respect for their subsequent abolition zeal. It is a matter of pride with us that no Southern colony or State ever had a vessel engaged in the slave trade. And several of the Southern States were the first to pass stringent laws against the

⁷B. T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro*, p. 85.

⁸E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 739.

⁹C. B. Galloway, *Methodist Review*, p. 754.

importation of African slaves." These quotations and citations are not given as a defense for the position of the South nor to deny that, viewed wholly from a moral issue, slavery was essentially wrong. And, viewed from a moral issue, the North was the greater sinner, since Northern money bought and Northern ships brought the slaves, and in Charleston "eight thousand four hundred and forty-four were sold for account of persons living in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut."¹⁰ As an institution slavery would never have had such a hold among us had not the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney stimulated the cotton¹¹ industry.

This period of servitude had some disadvantages: (1) Cost of superintendence; (2) the laborer was unskilled; (3) the laborer was lacking in versatility. The purchase price, the cost of maintenance, the risk of escape or death made the system unprofitable.¹² Per contra, there are statements that assure us of the profitableness of the slave system.¹³ "One can raise enough indigo and rice in one year to pay for his entire cost, or forty pounds in money." Again, it is urged that labor can be organized and directed by a controlling mind to a definite end.¹⁴

It was estimated that twenty negroes for a year would cost \$1,000 for hire, \$200 for clothing, and

¹⁰E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 139.

¹¹J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, p. 44.

¹²E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, pp. 298, 136.

¹³J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. I., p. 4.

¹⁴J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, p. 44.

\$400 for board. The same authority states that sixteen white persons for hire for a year would cost \$2,112 and \$800 for board.¹⁵

The Bureau of Agriculture at Washington made an investigation of the amount of money for which a slave might be hired for a year. (This was for 1860.) The estimate was that a man could be hired for \$138, a woman could be hired for \$89, and a youth for \$66. This obtained in Alabama in that period. "Besides, money expended for negroes is money expended for the weak."¹⁶

All of these statements, however, mean nothing unless we are thinking in terms of some definite period. It is false to facts to say that slavery was unprofitable. In a poor section of the country where the land was exhausted, especially when cotton was not commanding a fancy price and when the slave was costly, it was unprofitable. But when labor, free labor, was not to be had, when the country had to be cleared, when the soil was fresh and capable of great production, and cotton was "king," it was economically profitable.¹⁷ This is very important to remember, because some believe that the reason why land in Virginia was worth \$8 per acre was due to her being a slave State. The same authority seems to account for Ohio's good land—\$20 per acre—on the basis that she was a freeman's State.¹⁸

¹⁵E. Ingle, *Southern Side Lights*, p. 77.

¹⁶William G. Brown, *The Lower South in American History*, p. 251.

¹⁷*Idem*, p. 20; E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 135.

¹⁸J. E. Cairnes, *The Slave Power*, p. 81.

Emancipation came by two methods: by vote, as in Vermont, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts,¹⁹ etc., and by war, which was concluded in 1865. "The process by which slavery was overthrown was, in fact, quite foreign to the purpose of the avowed abolitionist."²⁰ Nevertheless, "slavery which ended in emancipation was economically, politically, intellectually, and morally unfit to survive."²¹

These words are further quoted in justification of emancipation: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."²² This statement was made to meet a particular need and should, therefore, not be universally applied. It meant that the American citizen, then, was or should be an equal sharer with a Britisher in life, liberty, and happiness.²³

The largest number of negroes in Alabama up to 1865 were in slavery, though there were a few who had freedom. From 1850 to 1860 free negroes (by birth or by reason of escape) increased at the rate of 12.33 per cent, the whites for the same period increased at the rate of 39.97 per cent, and slaves increased at the rate of 23.39 per cent. With the exception of the decennium ending at 1830, the free negro perceptibly decreased in number from 1790 to

¹⁹J. F. Rhodes, *A History of the United States, etc.*, Vol. I., pp. 14, 15.

²⁰William G. Brown, *The Lower South in American History*, p. 101. ²¹*Idem*, p. 252.

²²The Introduction to the Declaration of Independence.

²³See Chapter VIII., p. 61 (Education), this dissertation.

1860.²⁴ So, then, after a century or more of servitude of an unwilling kind he found himself suddenly endowed with the power of full citizenship. He was, as Shakespeare says, "sans everything." But this "sans everything" was not superinduced by senility, but arose by reason of a sudden and unprepared-for freedom. He had no personal property,²⁵ relatively speaking, and no landed estates worth the mention at the final overthrow of the Confederacy. He had no implements with which to till the soil, nor was he able to purchase these necessities. Only the few who were foremen or apprentices in blacksmith shops, in carpentry, and like industries were prepared for other than the cotton industry. Thus the race in Alabama emerged into a new life, a new experience, with no equipment for winning wealth. The picture before us is that of an unprepared people newly thrust forth to make their competitive way against superior odds.

This brief recital shows that the negro in America, and consequently the negro in Alabama, is without a parallel on the earth to-day. He simply has no past history. It is true that the negro has lived for centuries in his African home, but that history is void of any historical significance to the American negro. His language is ours, for in Alabama there is not the slightest trace of a dialect which persists from his ancestral mother tongue. His religion is ours, taking such form—largely Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian—as he inherited from the white man of Ala-

²⁴Eighth Census, p. 9.

²⁵M. N. Work, *Negro Yearbook* (1917), p. 1; J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, p. 193.

bama. His social customs and usages are ours, modified only by his inability, financial or intellectual, to exactly duplicate. He is wholly unable to write a continuous history of himself farther back than the days of his servitude on American farms. So far as his record is intelligible to him and to us, he is like some Adamic race, numerous but weak, that suddenly appears in the chronicles of history in Alabama.

In a consideration of his past, from the beginning of slavery to his emancipation, let us remember that all negroes were not of the same tribal stock.²⁶ There were different slave markets in Africa, and the slaves brought thence varied in size and color and necessarily in shape of head. One who is adept in anthropology would need only a passing visit through the rural sections of Alabama to verify this conclusion. And just as we find temperamental differences among the Scotch, the Irish, and the English, so do we find temperamental differences and aptitudes between the Sudanese and the Bantus.

Besides the differences which are manifest so far as the tribal stocks are concerned, there is another class which is ranked as a negro. This type is known as the mulatto, which has a mixture of white blood with the negro. In the United States this class more than doubled in number from 1890 to 1900. The increase of the mulatto for that period in Montana was 6.1 per cent, the increase in the District of Columbia was 8.1 per cent, while the increase in Alabama was only 5.3 per cent. The rule is that the mulatto makes a more desirable domestic servant and more capable leader in social, educational, and religious af-

²⁶J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, p. 121.

fairs; while the blacks are preferable for purely muscle work.²⁷ From a eugenic standpoint the mixing of the African stocks may have proved a benefit. But the mulatto is not a tribal stock. Society classes him as a negro, nevertheless. Professor Shannon makes the following observation on this point: "The negro (black) is, as a rule, indifferent to educational privileges, as he is toward everything else requiring wise forethought and sustained effort. So while we find much of the heavier work of the South done by him, we find the mulatto employed in such occupations as call him from the rural districts into the cities and towns. . . ."²⁸ So while mulattoes are negroes socially, are they negroes intellectually? Some say they are;²⁹ by some they are distinguished.³⁰

This is the simple story which leads up to a consideration of the negro as an economic factor. It is necessary to know the incidents which led up to his freedom, which is the beginning of his economic life. He had certainly a place in the economic scheme of Alabama before the surrender, but such as was common to the horse or other possessions which acted when acted upon, possessing no self-directing choice. Historically, then, his economic independence, his economic power, begins with the opportunity and the unrestrained right of self-control.

²⁷J. A. Tillinaghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, p. 122; A. H. Shannon, *Racial Integrity and Other Features*, etc., pp. 34, 35; A. H. Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, p. 426.

²⁸A. H. Shannon, *Racial Integrity*, etc., pp. 34, 35.

²⁹M. N. Work, *Negro Yearbook*, 1917, pp. 283-296.

³⁰A. H. Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, pp. 425-439.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRESENT LOCATION.

THERE are in Alabama 908,282 negroes, or 45 per cent of the entire population.¹ This count includes the pure negro and the mulatto. In this chapter no distinction will be made between the pure type and the mulatto, but both groups will be treated as one. Their increase from 1900 to 1910 was 9.8 per cent. One hundred and fifty-six thousand six hundred and three of the total negro population in 1910 were in towns and cities, and seven hundred and fifty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine were in the rural districts.

Of those living in cities, we observe these facts concerning the sexes, since we will later consider them as they are represented in gainful occupations:

ALABAMA.			
City.	Males.	Females.	
Birmingham	25,662	26,643	
Montgomery	8,293	11,029	
Mobile	10,344	12,419	
For entire State.....	447,794	460,448	

This translated into other terms means that there is a surplus of negro women over negro men both throughout the State and also in three of the largest cities in the State. Whenever negroes are found in cities at all, they usually form a large proportion of the inhabitants. In the cities mentioned above they make this per cent of the total:

Birmingham	39.4
Montgomery	50.7
Mobile	44.2

¹Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II., p. 41, Population of Alabama.

Including these exceptions in race concentration, the negro is as yet on the farm. Later figures will show that nearly four-fifths dwell in the country.

ALABAMA.²

	1890.	1900.	1910.
White.			
Urban	82,574	118,499	213,756
Rural	751,144	882,653	1,015,076
Total			1,228,832
Negro.			
Urban	69,607	98,154	156,603
Rural	608,882	729,153	751,679
Total			908,282

Per Cent of the Total Population.

	1890.	1900.	1910.
White.			
Urban	54.2	54.7	57.7
Rural	55.3	54.8	57.4
Negro.			
Urban	45.7	45.3	42.3
Rural	44.7	45.2	42.5

The actual numerical gain for whites for this twenty years was 395,144, and the gain among the negroes for the same period was 229,793.

The Twelfth Census³ showed that Alabama was 90 per cent rural and only 10 per cent urban. In 1900 she had no city with more than 100,000 inhabitants. There were 5.9 cities with a population ranging between 25,000 and 100,000 and 1.4 cities having between 8,000 and 25,000 inhabitants.

²Figures taken from the Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1900, Vol. II., p. 41, Populations.

³Twelfth Census of the United States (1900), Vol. I., pp. 24, 25.

24 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

Economic reasons draw men from one country to another or from one part of a country to another. The white man has migrated when fresh lands were needed, when mines were discovered, when rivers were opened for commerce, when textile industries called for skilled labor, when the demand for gold was great, and when a variety of other economic needs and opportunities presented themselves. But the negro remains where he is. Only 7.5 per cent of negroes are born outside of the State's boundary. As a matter of fact, 82.7 per cent of them live in the country, while only 17.3 per cent are in urban life. However, for the twenty years next preceding 1910 the urban gain was 10 per cent, while the rural decrease was 7 per cent. This rural decrease was almost in every case found to be in the "Black Belt" section of the State. In eleven counties negroes form 75 per cent or more of the population, and in twenty-three counties they form less than 25 per cent. (The decennium ending in 1910.)

The first attempt in the history of that people at migration occurred in the autumn of 1916. The Department of Labor is quoted in the *Birmingham Age-Herald*⁴ of November 3, 1916, as estimating that not fewer than 6,000 negroes went North. The exodus was the result of crop failures and the promise of fancy wages by labor agents from Northern industries. Negroes show less tendency to migrate from country to city than any other class of population.⁵ They remain an agricultural people.

⁴Birmingham Age-Herald, November 3, 1916, p. 1.

⁵M. B. Hammond, *Cotton Culture in the South*, p. 183.

Largely the thought prevails that the negro is to be found everywhere throughout the State. But history shows⁶ that only one-fourth of the South was interested in slavery. Indeed, nonslaveholders outnumbered the slaveholders in the proportion of three to one. To take an illustration of this point we may use the State of Georgia. "In Georgia 150 barons commanded the labor of nearly 6,000 and held sway over farms with 90,000 acres of tilled land, valued even in times of cheap soil at \$3,000,000. Twenty thousand bales of cotton went annually to England and New England. Men that came there bankrupt made money and grew rich. In a single decade the cotton output increased over fourfold, and the value of land was tripled."⁷ So in Alabama, in 1850 for example, slaves were in proportion to freemen as three to four, and less than 7 per cent of the white population owned the 335,000 slaves.⁸ This helps to account for the fact that there is not a uniform distribution of them over the State, for they do not cover the State's territory as the waters cover the sea. There are in Cullman County 533 negroes; there are 54 in Winston County; there are an equal number of whites and negroes in Pickens County; in Hale County the negroes furnish five-sixths of the population; in Green County, which might with equal propriety be called black, the negroes furnish seven-eighths of the population. They are found in large numbers in the district called the "Black Belt," a strip

⁶J. D. B. DeBow, *Industrial Resources of the South*.

⁷W. E. B. DuBois, *The Soul of Black Folk*, p. 123.

⁸William G. Brown, *The Lower South in American History*, p. 34.

of country running across the central-south of Alabama, composed of dark, calcareous dirt, incomparably adapted to the cultivation of "King Cotton."⁹ It is in this zone that they are on trial. Here they are born; here they must be educated or in large numbers remain in ignorance; here they must gain the victory or suffer defeat; here they must demonstrate to the world what they can accomplish under favorable conditions, assisted by foreign philanthropy, State aid, and race pride.

⁹William G. Brown, *The Lower South in American History*, p. 25.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL DIFFERENCES.

THE following words are taken from the *New Decatur Advertiser*¹ of April 25, 1916: "A number of negroes have been warned to leave the town of Cullman. For many years Cullman has been a strictly 'white' town. Until recently no negroes were allowed to stay overnight in Cullman. On the water tank is a sign in large letters: 'Nigger, don't let the sun go down on you here. Recently a number of negroes who were engaged in railroad work have drifted into Cullman, and some of them have remained. Now they are warned to leave town, as their work is over.'"

Many things which a negro might do, as far as possibilities are concerned, are closed occupations. His possibilities are in a very real sense conditioned on social grounds. It is claimed that the negro has lost ground because the white man will now do what the negro does and will do it better.² The Southern white man will work side by side with a negro, as in carpentry, and never feel that he endangers his standing in the community. Yet the social line is one of the determining factors in the economic field. It helps to determine what field he shall enter and what sphere he shall occupy in certain given fields. The operation of this social law must receive its proper

¹The New Decatur Advertiser, Albany, Ala., April 25, 1916.

²A. H. Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, pp. 157 *et seq.*; also pp. 167 and 177.

emphasis. Segregation is the order of the day in nearly every kind of business. No negroes may ride in a sleeping car nor buy a ticket at the white window nor sit in a white waiting room except as a servant to some white person; he may not attend a school for white children nor teach in the same; he may not marry outside of his race, the penalty for which is an imprisonment of two to seven years.

These facts of a social status are no more binding than the hard facts of employment. No negro is an engineer (railroad) in Alabama, nor conductor, nor section foreman, nor clerk in a store, nor policeman, nor mine inspector, nor tippelman at the mines, nor road overseer, and a multitude of like occupations.

In the *Negro Artisan*³ it is stated that there are in Alabama 4,591 negroes engaged in skilled and semi-skilled railroad work. We look in vain to find any who are ticket agents, express agents, telegraph agents, trainmasters, supervisors, superintendents of the bridge department,⁴ etc. We are told that there are in the State 3,687 negroes engaged as skilled or semiskilled miners. Three years' experience in a mining town did not bring such information to me. It may be true if the word "skilled" means only the ability to use the pick and the power to mine coal with ease and profit.

Perhaps it would help our understanding if we should analyze, for example, the professional class as illustrating what is meant by "skilled and semi-skilled." There are listed 1,778 negroes who belong

³The Negro Artisan, Atlanta Publication, 1902.

⁴M. S. Evans, Blacks and Whites in the Southern States, p. 101.

to the professional class. Closer study shows that 1,114 of these are ministers, 479 are teachers, 55 are physicians, 47 are teachers of music, etc. To say "professional" class, then, has a meaning when thus defined and understood. So "skilled or semiskilled" does not necessarily mean intellectual agility.

All positions, even on railroads, however, are not closed to negroes. They may become firemen on railroads or for stationary engines as freely as they become barbers, hotel porters, draymen, or any unskilled laborers elsewhere. The females of the race almost without exception become cooks, washerwomen, maids, and nurses. White servants are very little used in Alabama. Indeed, it is almost impossible for a white woman to secure a position as a servant in a home, because it is a negro's job. In the *Negro Yearbook*⁵ the statement is made that there were only twelve kinds of occupations open to negroes in 1863, while in 1913 they were found in seventy kinds of business. Compared with themselves, then, they seem to have advanced. But the whites have not remained in a static condition during this period from 1863 to 1913. It is difficult to tell whether this increase is greater or less than that made by the whites proportionately. The number of different kinds of avenues open to negroes in 1890 in Alabama was 136. Among them were barbers, undertakers, bankers, grocers, hotel managers, etc., and dealers in hardware, general merchandise, and fuel.⁶

The discrimination against the negro is not an un-

⁵Negro Yearbook, 1914, 1915, pp. 277-279.

⁶Negro Yearbook, 1913, pp. 203-206; United States Census, 1890, Occupations.

mixed question. Since the Civil War the negro has been, theoretically at least, free. Yet we know that, while he is legally free, he is economically dependent. Hedged in by limitations which arise from the fact of color and previous condition of servitude, there are some privileges of a social type which are closed to him. But much of the social unrest is based on a false premise. Why is he not permitted to teach in a school for white children? The separation in schools is the result of these conclusions, according to Professor Hart:⁷ (a) That the negro has an evil influence over white children. For whatever it may be worth, let us quote a line from an article⁸ generally accepted as true by all investigators: "Their morals are unspeakably bad. In one county in Mississippi three obtained license for marriage when twelve hundred should have done so." (b) A mixture would break down the separation necessary to prevent social equality and amalgamation. ("In a Boston colored magazine some months since Augusta P. Eaton⁹ gives an account of her settlement work among negroes in that city. In describing relations where colored and white families live in contact, she says: 'The great bond of fellowship is never fully established. There is tolerance, but I have found few cases of friendly intimacy.'") (c) The blacks are "niggers." (Even this charge is far from being confined to the South. "The *Bulletin* of the Intermunicipal Committee on

⁷A. B. Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 313.

⁸J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, p. 198.

⁹A. H. Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, p. 236.

Household Research is authority for the statement that the Boston Reform League has been unable to secure an equal chance for colored girls in obtaining employment and cannot secure places for more than half who apply."¹⁰ A negro man who was "neat in his person and good-looking and highly recommended . . . answered in all two hundred advertisements, but he was invariably refused the position simply because he was a colored man."¹¹

Color is not the only thing that closes the door of opportunity to the black man. Some are simply not qualified for leadership and positions of responsibility. "Few people, black or white, realize that in the negro race as it exists to-day in America we have representatives of nearly every state of civilization, from that of the primitive man (African) to the highest that modern life and science have achieved."¹²

"Domestic and personal service is regarded as the sphere proper to the negroes."¹³ This is because "they seem able to develop the sense of energy, purpose, and stability."¹⁴

At the present time committees on common carriers¹⁵ are petitioning the railroad companies of the

¹⁰A. H. Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, p. 236. ¹¹*Idem*.

¹²B. T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro*, Vol. II., p. 189.

¹³M. S. Evans, *Blacks and Whites in the Southern States*, p. 101; *Negro Yearbook*, p. 281.

¹⁴J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, p. 193.

¹⁵Annual Conference Report (Committee on Common Carriers), 1910, A. M. E. Church of Alabama, J. W. Alstock, Bishop; *The South Mobilizing for Social Service* (1913), p. 417.

State to furnish better accommodations for the colored people. They certainly do not have the comforts accorded to the whites, and this difference of comfort of body and security of life furnishes a basis for a plea for better accommodations while traveling. But this remains to be said: The Pullman Company would lose money on every run of its cars, since the negro traveling public is infinitesimally small. So the railroad company does make a distinction, but the discrimination is in part a matter of economics; it simply would not pay.

"Few blacks are engaged in manufacturing because of the prejudice of the white worker and because of their own lack of efficiency. In trucking and in railroad construction they furnish a large portion of the unskilled labor, but rarely attain positions of responsibility."¹⁶

Again, the little log cabin was a common type of house which was formerly erected for the renting class and the wage earners. Here we find this also to be a question of economics as well as a question of social differences. This has its parallel in Northern cities, in Western cities, in Eastern cities, as well as in the South. The tabulated results of the "housing problem" students, as well as magazine articles, show that Greeks, Italians, Poles, Scandinavians, etc., live in the tenement districts of the great cities. This is true, not because they are from foreign countries, but because they are not able to bear the financial burdens necessary to living in the other and more desirable sections of the city.

¹⁶The South in the Building of the Nation, Vol. VI., p. 44.

These several citations are given in order to modify or qualify some conclusions which might be erroneously reached; for while not all of the inequalities are due to the negro's ebony hue, there are numerous rights and privileges whose boundaries are irrevocably set by social differences. Indeed, just at this time the Federal government is separating the races that are employed by the government at Washington.

One has called attention to a threefold division as existing among the whites of the South prior to 1865.¹⁷ It consisted of the slave owner par excellent, who owned many slaves of alluvial lands; the yeoman, who owned a few slaves and generally worked along with them in the fields; and, lastly, the poor white man, who had no slaves and was forced to occupy the poorer lands. This is a very helpful division to remember, for nothing could be farther from truth than to say that the Southern white held in contempt the negro. The most marvelous instances of affection of the negro for the white man or *vice versa* could be easily multiplied. Many cases could be cited which would parallel the love of Jonathan and David or that of Damon and Pythias. Not even in the fiery days of bloodshed and fratricidal strife did the slave as a rule turn against the master. And when the negro was given his freedom, affection remained on both sides as a constant factor. When in the course of human events the negro died, the "old

¹⁷G. S. Callender, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 811; E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, p. 32.

master" always saw to it that he had a decent burial. It is still a custom among the white people whose parents were slave owners to pay tribute to the life of every "faithful" negro. There is a large evidence, therefore, that the Southerner as such in a wholesale, universal way does not insolently maltreat the negro. But, alas for the negro and for social righteousness! this class is diminishing, and the yeoman and the poor whites have slipped forward into governmental affairs—"the new king who knew not Joseph." No proof has been brought forward incriminating the Southern aristocrat, the erstwhile slave owner, as endangering the morals or the physical safety of the black.

Only the uninformed think that the political power of the past rested in the hands of the aristocracy. "Poor whites were more domineering than the slave owners. They had political equality with the slave owners, but were physically and mentally no better than the slaves."¹⁸ "The race problem is vastly less perplexed when white people deal with negroes, whether educated or uneducated, than when ignorant white men deal with either class of negroes."¹⁹

A large contribution in an economic way is made in an unwilling service—that is to say, as a result of a conviction of crime. This contribution is made by a small part numerically of that race, but its results run up far into the millions of dollars. This money

¹⁸J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, Vol. I., p. 344; J. M. Moore, *The South of To-Day*, p. 31.

¹⁹William G. Brown, *The Lower South in American History*, p. 270.

is not paid to him nor to his family, but to the State or county.

The Alabama convicts were employed in the early seventies (1870) in railway-building and were so badly treated that they were taken from the control of the lessees, and the State farm was the next to receive them. Then in 1882 the convicts were put into the hands of fourteen lessees, as the farm plan had failed, but subleasing was prohibited except with the consent of the warden and governor. This lease is still in vogue in a modified form.²⁰

From 1906 to 1910 there were 2,392 convicts remaining in prison, while 2,735 had been paroled. Now, assuming that this 2,392 was typical for the quadrennium, we have: Whites, 416; negroes, 1,976. For the same period the county convicts numbered: Whites, 88; negroes, 636. I did not investigate the status of municipal prisoners, but a first-hand knowledge—personal knowledge—of three cities ranging from 10,000 to 130,000 inhabitants confirmed the statement that all street improvement, street-cleaning, sewer work, and the handling of garbage was done by convict or prison labor.

Now, deducting the money necessary for court cost, transportation of the convict, and all other disbursements, the net profit to the State was cut down considerably. But withal there was a net gain to the State of \$1,706,695.87. Since there were incarcerated four negroes to one white man, we have a gross earning from the negro of \$2,205,088, or a net earning of

²⁰The South in the Building of the Nation, Vol. VI., p. 43; Board of Inspectors of Convicts, 1910-14, p. 52.

36 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

\$1,185,719 for the quadrennium of 1906 to 1910. For the four years after 1910 the figures are, for negroes, 2,252 imprisoned, a net earning of \$1,880.420. There were of the whites for this same term, 357 in prison, a net earning of \$308,284.²¹ This calculation reckons that the same convicts remained for four successive years, which is not true. At most the estimate is not far wrong; for while some were paroled, other recruits were added. The same wage is required by the State for negroes as for whites. The difference is noticed not through the color line here, but by the recommendation of the physician who examines each prisoner and classes him in the rank of A, B, C, etc., according to his ability to mine coal, if he happens to be sent to that kind of labor.

The total gross receipts from all prisoners for 1910-14 were \$5,107,644, five-sixths of which were made by the negro. This amount was more than enough to buy all the hogs, sheep, and goats in the whole State, with enough left over to buy 260 farms containing forty acres each at \$11.65 per acre.²² This is the average price per acre as given by the government report. Stated differently, eight quadrennial terms of negro imprisonment would buy all the land that the negroes throughout the State owned in 1910.²³ These men work in the mines, at sawmills, on farms, in turpentine works, and in stove works.

The State chaplain, Rev. J. A. Jenkins, stated that flogging was the cause of many deaths. Dr. J. M.

²¹Board of Inspectors of Convicts, 1910-14, p. 52.

²²Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. VI., pp. 18, 25.

²³*Idem*, p. 32.

Austin, physician-inspector, in his recommendation to the Board of Inspectors, suggested the abolition of whipping on the naked.²⁴

If all the years of service demanded from negro convicts could be placed in one life, that person would have been born when Abraham was, and he still would be a minor. On the minimum basis the number of years of servitude is not less than 63,734.

A man may be apprehended for crime, and because of the congested condition of the docket his trial may be postponed for a year or more. This time of imprisonment is not deducted from the sentence which may be given for some petty offense. This is a decided economic loss to society specifically and generally.²⁵

Under the fee system the sheriff comes in for a good amount of graft under the Alabama law. It is to the financial interest of such an official to have on hand a large number of prisoners. The sheriff of Jefferson County alone receives \$100,503.76²⁶ from the pernicious fee system in a quadrennium in feeding the prisoners. The legislature makes ample provision for these unfortunates, but as a matter of practical experience it is seen that they get only two meals a day, which cost on an average five cents each. Not many citizens speak against this inhumanity. It is accepted as a part of prison life by the prisoners, while the aforesaid officer grows rich at the expense of the physical well-being of the incarcerated. Of course the State in a way bears the expense, but in the

²⁴Board of Inspectors of Convicts (1910-14), p. 35.

²⁵*Idem.*

²⁶Special Report of Prison Inspector, 1914, pp. 6, 9, 10, 99.

38 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

last analysis the convict feeds himself, the lawyer, the sheriff, and gives tips to the State at a lively rate.

The largest single charges against all prisoners of the State in numerical order are:²⁷ Murder in the second degree, murder in the first degree, grand larceny, violating the prohibition law, and burglary. The report does not set forth the author of the specific crimes, whether white or black, but we may surmise that certainly the negroes have a large representation, as there are so many more of them in prison than there are of the whites. Ordinarily one would judge from newspaper accounts that the Southerner resorts more to lynching than to the duly constituted authority of the law. The one crime from which white men outrun the processes of the law is rape. From 1910 to 1914 there were twenty-eight such cases, while murder in the second degree amounted to 448.²⁸ In Alabama in 1915 there were nine persons lynched. This form of insubordination is nearly always directed toward the negro, though occasionally a white man is mobbed. A movement is now in process to prevent lynching.²⁹ This movement has the hearty support of the descendants of the slave owners, and it is reaching them and all persons who are receiving education, but fails to receive attention from those who are likely to commit such outrages. One has pointed out the fact that even in a trial the negro is tried by a court in which he has

²⁷Board of Inspectors of Convicts (1910-14), pp. 171, 172.

²⁸*Idem*, p. 177.

²⁹Lynching, Removing Its Causes (W. D. Weatherford, Ph.D.), an address; J. M. Moore, *The South To-Day*, p. 152; *The Southern Sociological Congress* (1913), p. 418.

no voice as to its processes or constitution. If he gets justice, then the white man gets less than justice; or if the white man gets justice, then the negro gets more than justice.³⁰ Any lawyer in Alabama will tell you that the same sentence is not always given to the negro as to the white man. (In Jackson, Miss., in January, 1917, an investigation was made by the Young Men's Business Club of "persecutions" which were publicly charged against a constable. The statement was made in the *Jackson Daily News* that the negroes had an endless dread of certain constables who arrested negroes for all sorts of petty offenses just for the sake of the fee connected with the arrest. This is not new to men who study social justice or rather social injustice. A similar line of procedure could be very easily duplicated in Alabama.)

Race antipathy seems to be instinctive. Everywhere there is race prejudice against the Jew. The yellow people speak of us as "foreign devils." In Liberia, where the black man lives and governs, we find that suffrage rests on the fact of color; the suffragist must be a black man, and he must have this qualification before he can own property—real estate. Foreigners, with the consent of the government, may become the owners of property. Since there is "humanity" in all of us, it depends on who we are and where we are as to what shall be our attitude in the matter of discrimination. So, then, let us not believe that the attitude of the Southern whites toward the Southern blacks is without parallel and historical

³⁰M. S. Evans, *Blacks and Whites in the Southern States*, p. 159.

precedent, for such attitude has characterized the behavior of every people in history.³¹ Yea, there are social differences among the whites themselves. The cotton factory employee will not worship in the rich man's church which is situated on a boulevard, nor will the man of great financial control find a congenial church home in the mission district. Some ardent social workers believe that the elevation of the negro will never be an accomplished fact until all social barriers between the whites and the blacks have been removed. But the more thoughtful and serious-minded Southerner feels that the obliteration of social distinction will only shift, but will not settle, the problem of the negro's welfare.³²

It is generally recognized that in the development of production there are certain distinct, obvious advances made.³³ The most primitive, perhaps, is the hunting and fishing stage, where but little capital is required. The next economic advance is said to be the pastoral, where the animal is domesticated for the service or raised for the feeding and clothing of the nomadic tribes. The third advance is known as the agricultural, where the tribes settle permanently, raising plants as well as animals. It is in this stage that slavery in Alabama first appears to be an economic gain in the production of wealth. The fourth stage in this evolution is that of manufacture and

³¹M. N. Work, *Negro Yearbook* (1914-15), p. 69.

³²A modern instance of group difference is seen in the California-Japanese controversy in President Roosevelt's administration.

³³C. J. Bullock, *The Introduction to the Study of Economics*, p. 163 *et seq.*

commerce. This stage widens the possibilities of each locality by allowing it to raise what is best suited to its environment and by exchange to secure other wants. The last stage thus far attained in Alabama is the industrial age. With the first two of these eras the negro in Alabama had nothing to do and but little with the industrial.³⁴ He is in the agricultural era as will be seen from the following table:

Agriculture	279,508
Professional	2,755
Domestic	83,131
Trade and transportation.....	13,872
Merchants (wholesale)	3
Teachers (male)	479
Teachers (female)	905

It is seen that the negro is still on the farm, where social distinctions operate less violently than anywhere else. Here he has larger freedom for the exercising of his natural gifts than we customarily think.³⁵

It does seem a wrong to society that difference in social stratification should help to send men to prison life and labor, fifty per cent of whom were between twenty and thirty years of age and two-thirds of whom were between fifteen and thirty years of age. For in the days when he ought to be in the prime of making and saving, the negro is in prison and is bearing the burdens of the State and county.³⁶ Also it

³⁴E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, Chapter X., p. 133; G. F. Callender, *Economic History of the United States*, Chapter XV.

³⁵M. N. Work, *Negro Yearbook*, 1913, p. 203; 1914-15, p. 278; 1917, p. 295.

³⁶Board of Prison Inspectors (1910-14), p. 172.

may really interfere with one's natural gifts to be forced by the caste system to be largely doomed to certain kinds of remunerative employment. Yet by no means are the failures of the negro to be laid to the account of the Southern whites. Because he sometimes lives perilously near the line of subsistence may mean that when removed from restraint or compulsion, from oversight and supervision, his energies are willfully withheld. Let us close this chapter with a quotation from a well-known author and race leader: "In 1910, while traveling in South Carolina, I met many leading negroes of that State and of North Carolina, and in almost every case these prominent men stated that the success which they had achieved was due to the friendship of some white man."³⁷

³⁷B. T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro*, Vol. II., pp. 36-40; also *The Outlook*, in *Advertising Department*, September 13, 1916.

CHAPTER V.

THE STATE'S RESOURCES.

AN enthusiastic writer in the special edition of the *Montgomery Advertiser*¹ says that the piney woodlands have been cleared of a considerable amount of timber and that these lands have been set out in pecans, oranges, and vegetables. Almost every fruit known to horticulture will grow within the boundary of the State. The peach crop of 1915 was not as large as that of Georgia, but commanded a higher price on the market. It was also noted that Alabama was the only State in the Union save one, Arkansas, that increased her production of peaches over the preceding year. The pecan propaganda is taking hold in the State. Pecans will grow anywhere, but the larger orchards are in the Southern counties. Thousands of acres are planted in pecans, and the crop will run into millions of dollars. The pecans differ from peaches, apples, and pears in that they are fairly regular in fruiting and are not so susceptible to attacks from insects and disease.

We usually think of Florida or California when speaking of oranges. In the past six years over six thousand orange trees have been planted in Alabama, and she leads all other States in the shipment of Satsuma oranges.

Strawberries, like most other fruits, will grow from the northern boundary of the State to the southern

¹The *Montgomery Advertiser*, Special Edition, April 16, 1915, article on "Fruits." ²*Idem*.

extremity. Hence the strawberry season is of a good duration. The yield for 1910³ was 1,848,537 quarts, or a minimum of \$277,280.

The period for picking strawberries is April and May. The season for peaches, apples, and pears can be arranged from the very early varieties which ripen in May and June to the late autumn crops.

The pecan nut is gathered only in the autumn, and then the time may be at one's pleasure.

The census report⁴ gives a more specific account of property valuation in regard to animal industry than it does to fruit valuation, so far as race possession is concerned. Throughout the State there are 932,428 cattle; 271,468 are owned by the negroes. Their value is \$13,469,626; the number which the negroes own are estimated at \$3,864,648.

All horses are valued at \$13,651,284; those owned by negroes are estimated to be worth \$3,590,989. All mules are valued at \$31,577,217; those owned by negroes are valued at \$10,873,562.

All swine are valued at \$4,356,520; those owned by negroes are valued at \$1,240,019.

Sheep are valued at \$299,919; those owned by negroes are valued at \$8,520. Goats are valued at \$76,261; those owned by negroes are valued at \$7,545.

The total production from all poultry for Alabama for 1910 was 22,235,000 dozen of eggs, which were valued at \$3,762,000. These figures also show that

³Thirteenth Census Report of the United States, Vol. VI, p. 46, Agriculture.

⁴*Idem*, Vol. VI., p. 32, Agriculture.

there were 1,467,000 fowls,⁵ which were valued at \$3,168,000.⁶

The 1902 census⁷ says that the coal and iron development did not begin until after 1870, though for more than a third of a century coal was shipped down the river on flatboats from Tuscaloosa to Mobile and sold for \$1.00 to \$1.50 per barrel. The coal counties are Bibb, Blount, Cullman, Etowah, Fayette, Jefferson, Marion, St. Clair, Shelby, Tuscaloosa, Walker, and Winston. Of these, Blount, Etowah, Jefferson, Marion, Tuscaloosa, Walker, and Winston are the chief centers⁸ of development, for the strata vary from a few inches to one hundred and fifteen feet. This⁹ is one of the richest coal fields in the world, having an estimated tonnage of 108,384,000,000. This would furnish enough coal to supply the world for more than two hundred and seventy years.

The total amount invested in capital in mining¹⁰ for 1909 was \$84,516,007. There were employed in the mines—coal, iron, and limestone—as wage earners 30,795 persons, receiving \$14,276,707. This is a large sum to be paid to less than one-seventh of the population of Jefferson County alone.¹¹ There were seven

⁵Thirteenth Census Report of the United States, Vol. VI., p. 25, Agriculture.

⁶The Montgomery Advertiser gives larger figures, as it gives more recent information.

⁷Report on Mines and Quarries, United States Census for 1902, p. 167.

⁸*Idem.*

⁹Alabama Geological Survey, Report on Warrior Coal Basin, 1899, p. 4.

¹⁰Thirteenth Census of the United States, Supplement for Alabama, p. 680. ¹¹*Idem*, p. 579.

46 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

hundred and sixty-six salaried officers, superintendents, and managers, who received¹² annually \$1,688,683.

These industries are developing very rapidly, as may be seen from these figures: In 1880 there were 11,000¹³ tons of coal mined; in 1910, 16,111,000. In 1880 there were 11,350 tons of iron mined; in 1910, 4,801,000. Of course dolomite, sandstone, clay, silver, graphite, gold, etc., are also found, but the chief products yet are coal, iron, and steel, so far as revenue is concerned.

The value of manufactured products in 1909 was \$145,962,000.¹⁴ Then the number of manufacturing establishments was 3,398, the chief of which were:¹⁵ Coke, cotton-ginning, cotton goods, flour and grist mills, leather, oil, cotton seed and cake, lumber and timber products, etc. These establishments gave employment to 81,792 persons during the year 1909, 72,148 of whom were wage earners. There was paid out in salaries and wages \$33,849,000. In Alabama in 1900 there was invested less than \$75,000,000 in manufactories which gave employment to about 60,000 wage earners,¹⁶ or less than three per cent of the wage earners in the State. Also in 1910 there were 72,000 wage earners in manufacturing, as follows: Iron and steel blast furnaces, 3,787; lumber and timber, 22,409; cotton goods, 12,731; cars and general

¹²Thirteenth Census of the United States, Supplement for Alabama, p. 682.

¹³Special Edition of Montgomery Advertiser, Mineral Wealth.

¹⁴Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. VI., p. 46, Agriculture.

¹⁵International Encyclopedia (Alabama), Vol. I., p. 251.

¹⁶Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. IX., p. 20.

construction, 6,308. The value of all manufactured products for 1909 in Alabama was \$145,961,638. As a matter of comparison we give the figures for farm property¹⁷ in 1910 as \$370,138,429 and the value of farm products as amounting to \$144,287,347.

Perhaps the lumber and timber industry comes next to the mining interests of iron and steel, including their preparation for commercial purposes.¹⁸ The vast importance of lumber is well illustrated by the fact that more than fifty mills continued to operate in the Tuscaloosa district during the depression of 1915-16.¹⁹

"There yet remain large areas heavily and richly timbered, the forests yielding cedar, poplar, hickory, gum, and cypress, besides all the varieties of pine and oak which grow in this latitude. Though sawmills have been busy along the railroads since their construction, there are many thousands of acres of virgin timber still standing."²⁰ This may be illustrated by the Kaul Lumber Co., which is located at Tuscaloosa, in Tuscaloosa County. This company has 70,000 acres of timber; and though the mill cuts 175,000 feet a day, they claim to have enough timber to keep them busy for thirty years. Another forest just west of the Warrior River from Tuscaloosa is another belt of 23,000 acres of long-leaf pine which has just been sold for \$750,000.

¹⁷Twelfth Census of the United States, Vol. VI., p. 46.

¹⁸International Encyclopedia (Alabama), Vol. I., p. 251.

¹⁹Montgomery Advertiser, article "Kaul Lumber Company," April, 1916.

²⁰*Idem.*

Besides these lumber mills, there are in and about Tuscaloosa such other industries as planing mills, cooperage plants, a shuttle plant, a porch column plant, etc. It might be added that the State has abundant water supply and power which makes it possible to ship coal, lumber, and other heavy freight to Mobile. The Warrior River by a system of locks is open from the Birmingham District to the Tombigbee River, thence to Mobile. A large amount of cotton as well as other freight is thus transported. This has reduced the freight rate twenty per cent. In addition to the Alabama River and her tributaries and other navigable streams which afford cheap transportation for other sections of the State, Birmingham is reached by every trunk line railroad in the South.

Not only is there a means of carrying on commercial relations with the world, but there is a growing improvement in communication with all interior points of the State. The good roads movement has met with enthusiastic approbation from citizen and legislator. So that for the year 1915 the several counties appropriated for good roads and bridges the sum of \$3,371,985.23. Montgomery County alone has 600 miles of macadam roads, and there are in that county 176 farmers who have automobiles.²¹

At the present time²² a little more than sixty-three per cent of the land surface is in cultivation. Owing to the condition of soil and climate, every item of

²¹Montgomery Advertiser, article "Good Roads," April, 1916.

²²Montgomery Advertiser, Special Edition, April 27, 1916, Agriculture.

agriculture produced in the United States can be successfully raised on Alabama farms. Some of the more largely planted staples are: Cotton, the acreage of which is 3,730,482 and estimated to have been worth \$87,008,432; cereals, the acreage of which is 2,844,824, valued at \$30,927,210; sweet potatoes and yams, 66,613 acres were planted, yielding a \$3,578,710 crop; potatoes, 14,486 acres were planted, yielding an \$884,497 crop; hay and forage, totaling 238,656 acres and yielding a \$4,357,132 crop; peanuts, in acreage 100,609, yielding a \$1,490,654 crop. These crops are found on 70 per cent of the farms in the State.

The cotton industry has greatly shifted its position in the last year. The appearance of the boll weevil has made it a difficult matter to raise the cotton crop so easily. Its culture must be on entirely a new basis. Formerly there were no insects to trouble the cotton except an occasional visit of the army worm. The two conditions formerly necessary for a large yield were diligent labor and favorable seasons. The enemy in the form of the boll weevil has had this effect: A new method of cotton culture, a decrease in its acreage, the making of small farms, a new emphasis to animal husbandry and to hay and grain crops, and a heretofore entirely new experiment, a shifting of the agricultural population into new kinds of farm labor, besides sending some into city life. Yet because the crop will command a high market value, many farmers will continue their efforts to fight the pests. Out of every 100 farmers the *Advertiser*²³ gives the following facts: 86 plant cotton, 87 plant corn, 45 plant

²³Montgomery Advertiser, Special Edition, April 27, 1916, Agriculture.

Irish potatoes, sweet potatoes, and yams, 20 plant oats, and 14 plant peanuts.

Alabama has the following physical and natural assets: A length of 350 miles, with an altitude ranging from sea level to 2,000 feet above; a mild climate, allowing pasturage for ten months in the year and in much of the State a possibility of two potato crops; plenty of rainfall, an abundance of streams for pasture, fishing, or navigation; areas adapted for fruits, from the citrus in the south to the more hardy kinds in the north; and it is seldom visited by a disastrous drought or a severe blizzard.

The different counties, however, are not equally able in these several lines. We can illustrate this difference by selecting three of the counties, Madison, Autauga, and Covington, which are located as follows: Madison, on the north, contiguous to the Tennessee State line; Autauga, about equi-distant from north to south and from east to west; and Covington, in the south portion, adjoining the Florida State line.²⁴

	Madison.	Autauga, Covington.	
Dairy cows	8,362	4,187	5,411
Horses	4,840	1,327	937
Mules	7,259	2,427	3,467
Sheep	3,588	481	6,155
Goats	1,576	2,360	785
Eggs (dozen)	661,306	173,683	269,704
Hay (tons)	13,099	1,821	3,775
Corn (bushels)	1,016,151	278,362	453,985
Cotton (bales)	19,882	50,757	15,893
All fruits (bushels).....	66,226	17,962	21,239
Apples (trees)	6,427	6,427	4,115
Sweet potatoes (bushels).....	60,864	56,229	138,387

²⁴Thirteenth Census of the United States, Supplement for Alabama, pp. 632-654.

This comparison could be carried on at length, and it would be found that some counties are decidedly given over to cotton, some to fruit, some to mining, some to lumber interests, etc. These figures are given to show how wide are the possibilities in the State. It is doubted if there is another State in the Union which has such a choice of actual industries to offer to capital or labor. If one has money to invest, a suitable and profitable field can be located. If one is seeking employment as a chemist, civil engineer, architect, scientific farmer, cattle expert, or day laborer, he can find an outlet for his aptitude.

Man (or labor), nature, and capital are the three factors of production, man and nature being the primary factors and capital a derived factor of production.²⁵ We will close this chapter by calling attention to the part which the wage earner plays in some of the larger industries. The average number of wage earners in Alabama engaged in manufacturing establishments as reported by the Twelfth Census was 52,902. In mining 19,132 were employed. Those in manufacturing received as wages \$15,130,419; those engaged in mining received \$10,345,848. Both together received \$25,475,567. Of those engaged in manufacturing, thirty-one per cent were employed in the lumber and timber business.²⁶ The census report does not give the number of wage earners employed on the farms, but does state that 83,843 farmers reported that they used hired help. Nor does it state what per cent of those laborers is white and what per

²⁵C. J. Bullock, *Introduction to Study of Economics*, p. 118.

²⁶Montgomery Advertiser, April 27, 1916.

cent is black, but it is reasonably certain that nearly all of them are black. These laborers received in 1909 \$7,454,748. The statistics are not yet available, but the statement is indisputable that wages on the farm have risen from fifteen per cent to twenty-five per cent since 1909.²⁷

The total value of all crops in Alabama in 1909 was \$144,287,347. This does not include coal, iron, and limestone. For the same year lumber was valued at \$25,057,662. Now we get a comparison of the different lines of activity from the 1900 census report, which says that sixty-nine per cent of all the people in Alabama are agricultural, ten per cent are engaged in mining, and twelve per cent are engaged in domestic and personal service.²⁸ This shows what one has an opportunity of doing in Alabama so far as soil, climate, watercourses, mineral resources, etc., are concerned, and in what occupations persons are really engaged to better economic conditions.

²⁷Sixtieth Census of the United States, 1910, p. 658.

²⁸Statistical Atlas of the United States, 1910, p. 94.

CHAPTER VI.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NEGRO INDUSTRIALLY IN ALABAMA.

THERE can be no such relation in our society as an isolated person. The very moment one comes to the consciousness of his ability to choose he simultaneously discovers that he is in the midst of concentric circles—the family, the community, the State, the world. He learns that his choice is not for himself alone, but of necessity it must affect others. It can no longer be said: "I am my own, and I can do as I please." Perhaps the older psychology was responsible for this erroneous idea.

So we discover that economic principles operate on the plane of faith and justice. To keep one segment of society reduced to poverty only means that the other must build, equip, and maintain all such social institutions as schools, insane hospitals, homes for incurables, almshouses, tuberculosis camps, and charity hospitals. Therefore it is declared to be bad business to restrain or to fail to encourage such a segment in our social order when such overt acts lead them into perpetual dependence. The financial burdens imposed on society by the ever-increasing demands of civilization should be equally distributed among all. But if we have one class hopelessly dependent, it is clear that some one else has to be additionally taxed to cover this deficit. If there were only a few just below the line of subsistence, or if there were just a few above said line, the problem of economics would

54 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

not be materially aggravated. But when we remember that there were in Alabama

	Negroes.
In 1890	678,489
In 1900	827,307
In 1910	908,282

and more than fifty per cent of the males were under voting age—i. e., twenty-one years of age,¹ we see that the problem is complex.

Again we find that in five of the more important fields in which the negro is employed throughout the United States the increase is as follows:² An increase of 35 per cent in agriculture in 1910 over 1900; an increase of 47 per cent in professional service in 1910 over 1900; an increase in domestic and personal service of 17 per cent in 1910 over 1900; an increase in trade and transportation 103 per cent in 1910 over 1900; an increase in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits of 155 per cent in 1910 over 1900.

In Alabama, where the heart of our particular interest lies, we find this statement from the government report:³ There were employed in the following occupations this per cent of negroes over ten years of age:

	1880.	1890.	1900.
Agriculture	77.5	71.5	67.6
Trade and transportation.....	3.5	6	6.7
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.	4.5	8.2	10.3
Domestic and personal service.....	12.9	12	13.4
Professional service	1.6	2	2

¹Thirteenth Census of the United States, Vol. II., pp. 46, 47. Population.

²Negro Yearbook, 1914-15, p. 278.

³United States Census, 1900, p. 94, Occupations.

Now let us compare the whites with the negroes in gainful occupations in 1900:⁴

Per cent of native whites, males.....	84.8
Per cent of native whites, females.....	14.2
Per cent of negroes, males.....	88.4
Per cent of negroes, females.....	50.2

To express the same fact in numbers instead of percentage it would be: White males, 289,152 over ten years of age engaged in gainful occupations; white females, 47,682 thus engaged. Negro males, 256,452; and negro females, 150,294.

We will not go specifically into the number of farms owned and operated by the negroes in Alabama, nor here give the amount of money invested in live stock nor the amount of money received in wages. But let us emphasize the fact that the negro is industrially important in any scheme for economic betterment. If we take him as regards his numerical strength in the State or to the per cent of the total workers or to the per cent of either sex as compared with the whites, we find that any scheme for the improvement of economic conditions within the State must of necessity include the negro. Recall the large numbers engaged in particular industries and that more than fifty per cent of negro males are under twenty years of age, and see how prodigious the possibilities appear.

Again, recall how great the State's resources are declared to be and how changes in agricultural methods will shift many into new fields of effort. The negro is to be largely affected by this development in

⁴United States Census, 1900, p. 84, Occupations.

his struggle for existence. Since he by far outnumbers the European laborer, his efficiency will mark the progress in industrial lines. If he lag behind or remain inefficient, he will retard industrial development considerably. If he become more intelligent, he will promote the State's advance. Even if a great immigration should come into the State and present a large constituency of white laborers, it would not remove responsibility so as to ignore the negro; for just a little less than one-tenth of the entire negro population of the United States is to be found here, and the rate of increase yearly is about ten thousand.

What is in operation to better his condition, to make him a qualitative factor as well as a quantitative one, will be treated later. Let us take a particular illustration which can be found in existence to-day in Lawrence and Cullman Counties. In the Tennessee River Valley, in Lawrence, where the unskilled negro has been planting cotton for so long a time, the soil has become exhausted. In case of rolling lands the top soil has been washed away, leaving at intervals some very poor spots. This land commanded a good price for a long time. In Cullman County a number of Germans moved in and purchased the land at a nominal sum. They reclaimed the hillsides by terracing. They planted vineyards and fruit trees. The town of Cullman has become noted in that part of the State as a great point for the shipment of strawberries, the industry which has made Cullman famous. These Germans are making money on these poor acres and are buying homes, because they know how to save and build up depleted soil. The negroes are still

renters for the most part in the valley in Lawrence. Not only are they failing as renters there, but the landowners find their land a little less productive year by year. Evidently society is the loser as a result of the continued condition in Lawrence, a condition which could be multiplied many times in other counties just as well. But you cannot build up the soil without first building up the negro. As long as he is allowed to pursue his present course, so long will society suffer. So to improve the yielding power of the acres, the skill of the negro must be enhanced. Without his improvement there is the absence of capital, the destruction of nature's contribution to man, and there remains only his unskilled labor, the sole factor of the three, with which to improve a hopeless condition.

CHAPTER VII.

SOME ELEMENTS OF INEFFICIENCY.

It is not always a pleasant task to tell one of his failures or to be told of one's shortcomings. It is much more pleasant and desirable to be told of only agreeable matters. But to discuss rightly the negro's rightful place in the economic scale we must mention with no degree of pleasure, but with a distinct sense of pain, some conspicuous elements of inefficiency, with the hope that it will be truly said: "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." These we will mention, not in the order of their importance, but as they readily appear to any thoughtful student of the problem.

Unreliability is one of the common faults. If a negro in Alabama, whether cook or day laborer, promises to perform a certain task, you need not count on the performance of that task until you see the task in course of process. It is not at all uncommon for a cook or a servant to desert a family in the time of greatest need and never return to collect the amount due for service rendered.

The wholesale charge of the "lying tendency" is serious, but no more serious than true. The safest plan to get baggage carried to the depot an hour before train time is not to depend on an engagement made the day before, but to go out and find a drayman who will carry the baggage immediately. This lack of dependableness militates in a very serious way against the efficiency of the negro. As a wage earner on the farm a man will rarely give an honest day's work when

not under personal supervision. There is a wide margin in the returns between one engaged in time work when attended by superintendence and one engaged in time work without superintendence.

Shiftlessness is a common characteristic of cook, washerwoman, wage earner, or tenant. Mr. Stone calls attention to the fact that tenants move so much that they speak of the place where they live as the "house," but rarely as the "home." Unscrupulous men long ago learned that if a negro rented land enough to work and was successful in making a sufficient crop with which to pay rent, the supply bill, the incidentals on the farm, and had some money left for him, he would immediately move to another farm. Knowing this desire for mobility, accounts were so arranged as to make the negro remain in debt to the landowner. The moving habit has a large place among them. Nor is the move made in order to better their condition, for it often happens that in the course of a few years the same families will return to the identical farm that they previously left, make a crop or two, and then go on to some other farm, perpetuating this shiftless condition.

We made an investigation of this condition among the domestic servants in a city in Mississippi, Jackson, which will show a condition of affairs identical with any city in Alabama. The term of service was considered in order to ascertain if the migratory spirit obtained there as well. This is the tabulated result.

On North State Street, where the wealthy people live, who are able to secure the highest priced and most efficient servants, the following classes of servants were employed in one year:

60 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

	Cook.	Nurse.	Lot Boy.	Washerwoman.
House 1.....	6	4	1	3
House 2.....	2	8		1
House 3.....	1 in 20 years.		1	
House 4.....	1 in 20 years.			3
House 5.....	2		2	1
House 6.....	2			1 3
House 7.....	1			1
House 8.....	2			3
House 9.....	2			2
House 10.....	3			2
House 11.....	2	3		
House 12.....	3	3		2

On a residence street just east of this survey another house-to-house canvass was made, running the same length—*i. e.*, from Fortification to George—and no report was given for a domestic who had served as long as one year, and the highest number who served in one house was ten cooks, an average length of service of five weeks. It is quite true that inefficiency forces the housekeeper to dismiss the servant, and the unfortunate part of the matter is that nothing is being done to change this condition. Perhaps a "housewife league" could be formed to remedy it, but there is no such organization in existence which has as its avowed purpose the eradication of this particular evil. But there is another reason why there is so much changing going on. The negro is unwilling to undergo a diligent application sufficient to maintain a standard satisfactory to the mistress. To take a specific example, the washerwoman will suffice. The first week or two of employment she will do beautiful laundry work. After this her work will begin to show signs of neglect until the garments are returned from the wash no cleaner than when they left for

the washtub. Garments, too, often go out in the laundry and never return. They are appropriated, but the plea is always made that they did not go into the wash. So this round goes. One is dismissed, and another takes her place, to do the identical things practiced by her predecessor.

The common fault of cooks is that they will carry home enough food to feed a small family in part. When the woman is not married she will oftentimes support some worthless, unemployed negro man. There is a widespread complaint on the part of the white women against this "tin pan brigade." It is commonly understood that the inexpensive factor in the employment of a cook is the wages. This defect in character operates against any substantial progress.¹ This practice is to be deplored because it undermines the substratum of character.

His narrow training of the past has fitted him for but few kinds of work. The advent of the boll weevil has made it necessary to greatly decrease the acreage of cotton and to substitute in its stead some other crop. This change is demanding the intensive method of farming, which has not hitherto been practiced to any extent in Alabama. This calls for a new crop or crops, new implements with which to work, and an intelligent calculation as to the returns from these new conditions. Go where you will, and you will scarcely find the types of agricultural implements which are found in the Western States. In fact, the type of plow has changed but little since the Civil

¹C. J. Bullock, *The Introduction to the Study of Economics*, p. 123.

War.² There is a vast deal of difference between the labor expended on an Irish potato crop and the long season for the maturity of cotton, requiring more than double the expenditure of labor. Also the value of an average potato crop per acre is \$53.72, while that of cotton is \$19.89. (This was in the 1910 census report. Both are worth more to-day.) But the negro prefers the cotton crop to any other, having been trained to that.

Practically the negro is an epicurean in philosophy. Whatever he accumulates this year is squandered long before the crop-growing season is ended. As a rule he is as dependent on the white man's help to feed him during the crop-growing period as he ever was in the slavery period. The spirit of improvidence seems to hold him fast. A garden with an ample amount and variety of vegetables would tellingly help him when his finances are low, but "if there is a garden plot the assortment of the produce is meager."³ A broader training would lead him to diversify his crop, to apply modern methods and implements in his work, and to know the adaptability of his land.

The negro is not comparable to the German in Cullman County for swiftness or persistence. He has the ability, but lacks the ambition and energy. It now takes two negroes to perform a task that was performed by one in former years. The work of three in 1860 was equal to the work of ten in 1890.⁴

²E. L. Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 333.

³A. H. Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, p. 197; M. S. Evans, *Blacks and Whites in Southern States*, p. 24.

⁴C. H. Otken, *Ills of the South*, p. 328.

The dying of the credit system in rural districts in Alabama is a blessing to the negro, for it has operated very much against his ownership of property. In 1910 negroes owned 9,951 farms free from debt and 6,551 with mortgage debt. Stated in another way, three-fifths of their farms were mortgaged, while one-third of the farms owned by the whites were mortgaged. The system of credit of which we speak served to permit the immediate wants of the laborer to be satisfied,⁵ and not many could resist the temptation to buy whatever was seen or wanted. Often the employer would go into secret partnership with a merchant, and when the employee would ask for money a written order was given to the store, where the employer got a ten-per-cent reduction and the merchant got a cash payment for goods which were sold at credit price, a price for the goods with interest added. In the city it is the "installment plan" that proves to be his undoing. A negro purchases furniture with a small payment in cash and pays a weekly sum thereafter until the debt is paid. But, alas! after paying for a year or more on the furniture the debt is far from being satisfied. The goods are taken from the purchaser and sold to another party, to go the same round again. Besides the installment, goods are always sold at a much higher rate than the same goods are sold for cash. Between house rent claims and the installment debt, there is but little left from the weekly wage.

He needs more of a real family life. No one but a thoughtful white person knows the far-reaching in-

⁵F. W. Taussig, *Wages and Capital*, Chapter I.

fluence of this lack of domestic unity. We are not thinking just now of the immorality which grows out of the promiscuity of association, but of the lack of family affection which is engendered by reason of scattered employment and which tends to lessen personal influence. Every one knows the worth of the parental touch, especially when a great personality is resident in either parent. The women who are employed as servants (and they are legion) become mothers, but not home keepers. Their hours of employment are such as to keep them from their homes the most of the day.

The next evil which follows this is where the wife is an idler in her home, which tends to make her an easy prey to sexual sins. One of the greatest boons to-day to the colored race would be a program to raise the standards of morals among the women. No race is great which has a low order of motherhood. Per contra, most great men attribute their success to noble mothers.

Professor Hart attempts to modify their sins by a comparison with the Southern whites in immoral relations, but acknowledges that they are low morally.⁶ Tillinghast says that their morals are unspeakably bad.⁷ Rhodes says that they dispense with the marriage ceremony and that their sex relations are loose and irregular.⁸ From this it is seen that their moral sensibilities need a toning up and strengthening.

⁶A. B. Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 135.

⁷J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, p. 198.

⁸J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, p. 4.

Some current gossip goes that the mother instinct sees that the mulatto has an advantage over the pure black, and she is led to desire children of light complexion. But this does not account for their immorality, for many more black children are born out of wedlock than those of a mixed type.

That a visit to an average Alabama farm will demonstrate a lack of initiative will readily be observed. A driver will not think to relieve the suffering of his team when chafed into hideous irritation by ill-fitting harness. He will simply drive on in his heedlessness. This lack of initiative may account for his lack of property holdings. He depends on others to suggest the time to move, the time to work, the time to plant, the time to reap. He does not show himself to be an inventor. Professor Smith, of Louisiana, held that the cranial sutures in the negro close early; that he cannot restrain primal impulses; that all of his judgments are of a practical type.⁹ The looking ahead, the forecasting ability, may be dormant; but if the negro has the ability to see future events, it is so far unutilized.

Labor interests have been aided often by the organization of unions among certain classes which needed just such aid as could be secured by said organizations. Labor unions are not strong in Alabama, so far as they affect the negro and his interests. In Birmingham they are strong. But the absence of unions generally is due to the fact that so many of the wage earners belong to the agricultural class. Though negroes are admitted to the unions, it is with

⁹A. B. Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 133

reluctance. The National Union has experimented by organizing the negro artisans into separate local unions. This has not worked so well; for, as a matter of fact, negroes are frequently used as strike breakers, a term which brings odium to them from the unionist. As strange as it may appear, unionism is entirely absent from two very large and important industries—viz., cotton-manufacturing and coal-mining. In 1908 there were only 762 union men among those who mine coal.¹⁰ However, a protest always comes from the unions when prison-made goods come in competition with union-made goods.¹¹

The organization of engineers, painters, printers, barbers, and multitudinous professions is subject to conditions which they can manage better in a company than any one alone can possibly do. But the farmer is noted for his "individual" actions, notions, and proclivities. An illustration in Minnesota¹² will serve to teach what may be done elsewhere. Three sections were selected where ten farmers coöperated with the Minnesota Experiment Station with results favorable to the farmer. It showed that his panacea undoubtedly lies in "the direction of organization, in a coöperative effort of some form, rather than a resort to an extreme individualism." Experiments are being tried in the matter of communities organizing for the purpose of planting and shipping potatoes. Some of these experiments in Alabama have failed, but co-

¹⁰The South in the Building of the Nation, Vol. VI. (Enc. Hist.), pp. 36-40.

¹¹F. T. Carlton, History and Problems of Organized Labor, p. 429.

¹²J. M. Gillette, Constructive Sociology, p. 168.

operative strawberry-shipping has proved a success, as has the coöperative shipment of hogs. Yet the negro has not gotten to that place except in a few small towns which are governed by negroes. This lack of organization will continue to force him to receive smaller wages and to accept minimum prices for his produce. The societies which are at present doing the most for the negro are those whose purposes are (1) to encourage insurance, (2) to encourage saving, (3) to encourage mutual helpfulness, and (4) to encourage coöperation. Washington states that there are twenty such societies in the United States so organized and that the Masonic fraternity alone has expended more than \$100,000 in Alabama for widows and orphans.¹³

There are probably 450,000 negroes in the South seriously sick all the time, according to a statement made by Monroe N. Work, editor of the *Yearbook*, at an annual negro conference at Tuskegee, Ala., in 1914.¹⁴ The annual cost to society of such illness is computed to be \$75,000,000. Over 112,000 negro workers in the South are sick all the time, and their annual loss in earning amounts to more than \$45,000,000. The farming interests lose annually from sickness and death among the negroes \$200,000,000. So the total economic loss to the South from sickness and death among negroes amounts to \$312,000,000. The application of the science of medicine to the negro population would surely save \$150,000,000 of this amount. As a result of the conference, a na-

¹³B. T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro*, Vol. II., *Secret Societies*.

¹⁴M. N. Work, *Negro Yearbook*, pp. 317-328.

tional organization for the conservation of negro health was organized.

There are now 600,000 negroes who are infected with tuberculosis. Just what is the rate of misfortune which belongs to Alabama cannot be given because not many of the Southern States are in the area which reports a trustworthy record of deaths. Birmingham, however, has kept such a record. We may be sure that since Alabama has nearly one-tenth of the colored population of the United States, she furnishes her quota in the figures above. Dr. Chazel, in the Medical College in Charleston, S. C., exhibited before a class the second known case of tuberculosis among negroes. That was in 1882. It seems not to have been a characteristic disease among them, because they lived in the open air and their cabins were well ventilated. But when tuberculosis did get a hold among them, it swept on with the fury of a prairie fire. In Birmingham the age of the highest death rate for both white and black was between twenty and thirty. This should be the age of greatest physical activity. This is the heyday of the athlete. The death rate, of course, is higher for the negro, the causes being in this order: tuberculosis of the lungs, violent deaths, pneumonia, and organic disease of the heart.¹⁵

Insanity, while not so great as among the whites, is on the increase. The causes of insanity as seen in the inmates of the asylum in Alabama are:¹⁶ (1) Pre-eminently heredity, which may come to posterity either from similar conditions in progenitors or from dissi-

¹⁵Morality Statistics, 1912, p. 52.

¹⁶W. D. Partlow, Assistant Superintendent of the Alabama Insane Hospital, Questionnaire, 1915.

pation, excesses, and improper living in parents; (2) general ill health, including pellagra; (3) alcohol and drugs; (4) internal disturbances of nutrition and elimination, producing what is termed autointoxication, and this intoxication in mental and nervous disturbances.

These are some of the elements which make progress hard for the negro. Certainly he has some very admirable traits. He is the only man who can love devotedly, but who has no corresponding quality of hatred. If maltreated, he for the most part is submissive and uncomplaining. But this is not the place to praise these great and excellent virtues. What Alabama needs is for him to eradicate those forces which make impossible his rise in the economic scale of life. He is on rich land, yet he produces less than does the poor white on poor land.¹⁷ In the entire South negroes produce less rice, cotton, tobacco, etc., than they did in slavery—*e. g.*, in 1859 they produced 5,387,000 bales of cotton, and in 1869 they produced 3,012,000 bales.¹⁸ In speaking of the white man, Page has this to say: "One of these principles is the absolute and unchangeable superiority of the white race, not due to education or other advantages, but an inherent and essential superiority based on superior intellect, virtue, and constancy."¹⁹ If the negro has the characteristics of the "intensively religious, imaginative, affectionate, without vindictiveness, great en-

¹⁷G. E. Barrett, *The South in the Building of the Nation*, Vol. VI., p. 43.

¹⁸*Idem*, p. 44.

¹⁹Thomas N. Page, *The Negro: The Southerner's Problem*, Chapter VII., p. 292.

durance, courage, cheerfulness, having shiftlessness, incontinence, indolence, improvidence, extravagance, untidiness, business unreliability, lack of initiative, suspicion toward his own race," yet he has something to which an appeal should be made. If he is a member of a hopelessly weak race, then responsibility is all the greater on the superior race.²⁰

²⁰The South in the Building of the Nation, pp. 163-185.

CHAPTER VIII.

FORCES FOR EFFICIENCY.

AMONG the numerous tendencies which help to make any man a citizen of a useful type, we may enumerate two, especially: education and possessions. So we shall examine the negro race to see what part he plays in the educational and financial world.

In the ancient world the subject nation became the slaves of the conquerors. This slavery included all, however noble by birth or refined by education.¹ Certainly this system was in vogue in Greece and Rome. In America the aborigines were treated as allies because they were inferiors as laborers. This is the only reason why the Indian escaped slavery, and because he was able to meet the demands for heavy labor discloses the reason why the negro first left his African home.

There are two distinct and even contradictory views concerning the ability of the negro intellectually. They are, in short, (1) that the negro can receive an education as any other people, and (2) that he cannot attain unto finished scholarship.

Some have referred to him as belonging to a child race. Others stoutly resist such an implication. An additional charge is made that the negro is a people with no indication of progress. "West African negroes have made no perceptible progress for thousands of years. They seem to have suffered an ar-

¹Palgrave, Dict. of Polit. Econ., art. Slavery; Encycl.

rested development. At any rate, their culture is on a very low level and very unprogressive. They have no letters, arts or sciences; their industries are confined to very elementary agriculture, fishing, a little hunting and some simple handicrafts. Language is in the agglutinative state; only suffixes are used among the Sudanese, but suffixes, alliterations and prefixes, among the Bantus."²

On the matter of education, J. L. M. Curry says concerning the curriculum used: "The curriculum was for a people in the highest degree of civilization; the aptitudes and capabilities of the negro were wholly disregarded. Especial stress was laid on classics and liberal culture to bring the race *per saltum* to the same plane with their former masters and realize the theory of social and political equality. A race more highly civilized, with the best heredities and environments, could not have coddled with more disregard of all the teachings of human history and the necessities of the race."³ This statement, coming from such a source, carries great weight, for Dr. Curry was considered an authority on questions of education. Nor was he adjudged to be provincial, sectional or partial in matters of any kind, especially in the field of education.

"African children learn until the age of puberty. . . . That the African begins to halt on reaching this latter stage of acquisition may be owing to the want of a quality of mind not to be found in brains

²J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, pp. 25, 26.

³*Idem*, pp. 210, 211.

of coarser texture."⁴ Though this author does not take the position that the negro is incapable of progress, he does assume that he is not capable, in the same degree with other races, in mental agility.

"The African who turns into a Europeanized man is the exception which proves the rule, and whose isolated conduct misleads the white man, dazzled by the performance of one in a hundred thousand; we seem blind to the inertia of the great mass that we have to deal with to-day in a state practically unaltered by the white work of four hundred years' duration."⁵

The negro does not belong to a child race so far as the time element is concerned, but he does so far as the psychological characteristics are concerned. We have only to examine such psychological traits as belong to the normal child⁶—viz., imitation, "lying tendency," the predatory disposition, credulity, suggestibility, etc.—to see that the negro has these elements both in an individual and in a racial way. It would be most interesting to trace out the effect produced when the proper appeal is made to any one of these psychological elements. In the days of the Reconstruction the members of the Ku-Klux Klan⁷ wore white sheets about them and tall paper hats on their heads so as to produce a weird, ghostlike appearance. With quills in their mouths they made supulchral-like tones. They would ride in a column

⁴J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, Chapter IV., p. 94.

⁵A. H. Stone, in *the American Race Problem*, p. 42.

⁶L. A. Weigle, *The Pupil and the Teacher*, p. 27 ff.

⁷*World's Best Histories*, Vol. VIII., p. 57.

around a cabin a few times, and, without molestation, they would quietly ride away. The Ku-Klux Klan would rarely resort to any kind of violence, but the negro's superstition and a highly-overwrought imagination always secured the desired deportment of the negro.

It is not possible to ascertain just the exact time when the brain cells begin to register impressions,⁸ but it seems to be at its best from nine to twelve years of age. The illustration of excellency of memory, a characteristic of childhood,⁹ can be adequately shown by the testimony of many ex-slave owners and their sons who have dealt in business affairs with negroes. (I myself had twenty years of experience in a general merchandise store dealing very largely with that race.) The testimony is that it is not a difficult task for a negro to run a credit account for a whole year with the accuracy of an expert book-keeper, holding in mind all articles purchased, the date of purchase, the amount purchased and the purchase price.

We have previously spoken of his unreliability as illustrating the "lying tendency." The other psychological characteristics could be traced and be found to exist in so large a way as to be reckoned as racial, for they abound in all the adults.

"In one profoundly important particular they seem peculiarly deficient—*i. e.*, in that strength of will which gives stability to purpose, long staying power, and self-control in emotional crises. Here is a strik-

⁸J. A. Wyeth, *With Sabre and Scalpel*, Chapter III., p. 5.

⁹L. A. Weigle, *The Pupil and the Teacher*, Chapter III.

ing contrast with our American Indians in several respects."¹⁰

Let us give just one more opinion which seems to question the mental powers of the negro: "The general capacity of the negro race at large for acquiring civilization is certain to be misconceived if they are credited with the achievements of men who share in Caucasian heredity. Misconceptions of this sort are serious if they lead to mistaken policies."¹¹

All of the quotations given fairly represent the thought of those who honestly believe that the negro is incapable of securing an education. But before we form an opinion let us hear those who sincerely believe that these and similar teachings are founded on prejudice and misconceived principles.

There is no record that as many as fifteen negroes were in attendance on higher institutions before 1840.¹² No negro graduated from a college prior to 1828, though "negro education is as old as colonization."¹³

"The proved capacity of the negroes for education suggested the wisdom and economy of providing their schools with teachers of their own race,"¹⁴ etc.

"The education of the negro is not new, so far as public money is concerned. Laws were passed in 1802, 1804 and 1809 in Pennsylvania for their edu-

¹⁰J. A. Tillinghast, *The Negro in Africa and America*, p. 27.

¹¹*Idem*, p. 123.

¹²C. G. Woodson, book published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, p. 265.

¹³A. B. Hart, *The Southern South*, p. 308.

¹⁴The New International Encyclopedia, Vol. XIV., p. 340, article "Negro Education."

cation at public expense, saying that it was the duty of the State to educate the blacks as well as the whites."¹⁵

Frederick Douglass, who told his plans to Mrs. H. B. Stowe, advocated vocational training as the best policy to raise the negro. Mrs. Stowe quite agreed with him.¹⁶

Monroe N. Work has done as much as, or more than, any one else to give force to this special feature of the negro race. He has with infinite care set forth the heroes, soldiers, poets, sculptors, ministers, educators and other representative negroes. He seems to make out a good case enforcing the argument that the negro can sustain himself anywhere, if he has a chance. A reference to any one of his *Negro Year-books* will readily exhibit this statement. This led me to get some accurate information from the sources which were accessible to me. Letters were written to Harvard, Yale, the University of Chicago and the University of Wisconsin. The questions that were asked are: "What is the negro's name? Where does he live? What degree or degrees did he win at other institutions? What degree was conferred by your institution?" The answers are as follows:

Harvard's exhibit showed that from 1870 to 1916 there were graduated thirty-six, of whom thirty-three received the A.B. degree, two the S.B. degree, three the LL.B. degree, one the M.D., and one the Ph.D. The special request was that the color be noted in reference to the graduate, whether black or mulatto.

¹⁵C. G. Woodson, book published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1915, p. 308.

¹⁶*Idem*, p. 301.

The reply was that no record had been kept of that particular fact.

The University of Wisconsin replied that for the year 1916 one negro graduated from the course in journalism. There was another who was in the senior class, but did not graduate. He had the B.S. degree from Wilberforce University. The first of these students was of mixed blood, the latter was of pure type.

The University of Chicago said that they kept no record of the students so far as color was concerned and hence could not answer the questions asked.

The statistician of Yale said that W. E. DuBois, Ph.D., of 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, could probably answer the question concerning the education of negroes as to whether they were of the pure black type or whether they were of the mulatto. My letter was written October 31, 1916, and the following reply was received from him:

My Dear Sir: Concerning your letter of October 31, I beg to say that I have no way of knowing the kind of blood in any person, white or black.

Very sincerely yours.

The half page of names of negroes who have graduated with honors and those who had won the Ph.D. from the well-known universities of the United States found in the *Negro Yearbook* of 1913, page 147, was sent to him. The request was that he should indicate the type of graduate, whether pure black or mixed type. As he is personally acquainted with most of these men, we hoped that he would give the information asked; for it would have been of real scientific value

in establishing the statement that blacks cannot, as a rule, acquire an education, or it would have helped to overthrow the statement as forever false. It may be that in the future such information as is trustworthy may be secured.

Mr. Stone points out that "famous men of the negro race"¹⁷ is but the recital of the doings of the mulatto. Attucks, Benneker, Douglas, Bruce, DuBois, Chestnut, Washington, and others should not be taken as examples of the negro's achievement, for very probably the elements of strength in them are not negroid, but Caucasian. We know that a person is entitled to know the world of nature—the story of the rocks, the trees, the flowers, the stars, etc. Education that leaves out the scientific is incomplete. A person is entitled to know not only his language and its import, but has a right to know the best of poetry and prose. He has an æsthetic nature, a love of the beautiful and the sublime, whether in architecture, scenery or statuary. He must be taught to believe that, though he is an individual, he is a member of the body politic. Religion is a part of his being, and to neglect this is to play havoc with the higher faculties of man. Life cannot be as full and as rich if the religious, the æsthetic, the poetic, the scientific, and the social elements in man are neglected. The purpose of education is not to teach men how to live, but how to live a life at the highest.¹⁸ But is the negro receiving the type of education that leads one

¹⁷A. H. Stone, *Studies in the American Race Problem*, p. 340.

¹⁸E. C. Wilm, *The Culture of Religion*, p. 21.

into the cultural fields? Indeed, can he master the branches in the various departments of college curricula? W. E. B. DuBois advocates what he calls the education of the "talented tenth." Granting that there are multitudes who never can become finished scholars, he believes there are a few who can with credit acquire great scholarship. He objected to the merely industrial education of the Tuskegee¹⁹ plan, saying that political power, insistence on civil rights, and the higher education were all surrendered under the Washington administration. He thinks that B. T. Washington unduly compromised and silently acknowledged that the South is justified in her attitude toward the negro. "The negro race, like all races, is going to be saved by its exceptional men. The problem of education, then, among negroes must first of all deal with the talented tenth; it is the problem of developing the best of this race that they may guide the mass away from the contamination of the worst in their own and other races."²⁰

There are without controversy two methods advocated by the negroes themselves regarding the matter of education. "The main question, so far as the Southern negro is concerned, is: What, under the present circumstances, must a system of education do in order to raise the negro as quickly as possible in the scale of civilization? The answer to this question seems clear: It must strengthen the negro's character, increase his knowledge, and teach him to earn

¹⁹W. E. B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, p. 51.

²⁰W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro Problem*, p. 33 (DuBois, Chestnut, Wilford, etc.).

a living."²¹ DuBois seems to advocate "character" and "knowledge," while Washington advocated "character" and a "living."

There are four colleges and universities²² of denominational order for negroes within the State, and two seminaries for women. Also there are four theological schools, one State agricultural and mechanical college and forty-nine normal, industrial and private schools. So it seems evident that by far the larger number are of the last-mentioned type. "Although the negro has demonstrated over and over again his capacity for advanced academic education, it was early seen that the great hope lay along the lines of industrial and vocational training,"²³ etc."

Let us examine a few of these schools so as to get a general idea of the work which is being done in them and how it is accomplished. The Calhoun Colored School, of Calhoun, Lowndes County, is non-sectarian and had in 1915-16 359 pupils, 30 teachers and an income of \$41,805. Six of the trustees live in Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia; only three of them live in Alabama.

The Lomax-Hannon High and Industrial School, located at Greenville, is the property of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church and has 282 pupils, 11 teachers and an income of \$2,834.

The Arlington Literary and Industrial School is the property of the United Presbyterian Church, having 260 pupils and an income of \$8,466. Of the ten

²¹W. E. B. DuBois, *The Negro Problem*, p. 57.

²²M. N. Work, *Negro Yearbook*, 1916, p. 262 ff.

²³E. G. Dexter, *History of Education in the United States*, Chapter XXII., p. 451.

members of the Board of Control, all live in Pennsylvania.

Kowaliga Academic and Industrial Institute, located at Benson, is nonsectarian, having 150 pupils, 7 teachers and an income of \$6,000. Of the eleven trustees, seven live in New York, Pennsylvania and Connecticut.

The Lincoln Normal and Industrial School, located at Marion, is the property of the Congregational Church, having 306 pupils, 16 teachers and an income of \$4,760. Of the eighteen trustees, only one lives in Alabama, while seventeen of them live in Northern and Western States.

The Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institution, located in Macon County, has 1,537 pupils, 194 teachers, and an income of \$268,825. Of the nineteen trustees, eleven live without the State, principally in Northern, Western, and Central States.

The Miller's Ferry Normal and Industrial School, located in Wilcox County, has 300 pupils, 17 teachers, and an income of \$5,961. This property is owned by the United Presbyterian Church. There are nine trustees, all of whom live in Pennsylvania.

The State Agricultural and Mechanical College is located at Normal. They have a property worth quite a good sum, consisting of 182 acres of land, 20 buildings for all purposes, live stock, and general equipment worth \$160,500. They advertise that they have "a combination hard to beat, a thorough English education combined with a trade."²⁴

These are just a few of the forty-nine similar

²⁴M. N. Work, *Negro Yearbook*, 1916, p. 262 ff.

schools for negroes in Alabama. Of these, twenty-nine are under the direction of some religious body, and twenty are nondenominational. There are also three other institutions which go by the name of college or university.

The most influential of all, perhaps, is the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. A State legislator, an ex-Confederate colonel of the Confederate army, promised an ex-slave by the name of Lewis Adams that if he would deliver the negro votes he (the colonel) would work for a fund for negro education. Adams carried out his part of the contract, and the colonel got \$2,000 with which to begin the plant at Tuskegee in 1880. He was elected, but when it was learned that he had helped negro education he was politically entombed.²⁵ This school is located in the Black Belt, and just one illustration of its work will suffice. The *Montgomery Advertiser* calls attention to the great value of the sweet potato crop. The chief difficulty, however, is that sweet potatoes are very hard to keep. In 1915 the school raised 15,000 bushels and lost practically none by rotting or spoiling. Not only are the students taught this and many other useful agricultural benefits, but the Tuskegee extension work is helping to improve the South. Many subjects are considered, as mothers' clubs, better houses for homes, better houses for schools, cooking classes, sewing clubs, and veterinary science, besides other matters concerning the bettering of rural conditions. The Tuskegee school is well equipped,²⁶ having an educational plant, together with

²⁵The Outlook, September, 1916, p. 101.

²⁶Tuskegee to Date, p. 2, 1915 edition.

grounds, live stock, and equipment in college and industrial departments, worth \$1,567,062. In addition, there are 19,527 acres of land unsold, which was a grant donated by Congress, and is valued at \$250,000. Besides this, there is an endowment of \$1,945,326.

It might not be out of place to mention that there is at Mount Meigs a State reform school for negroes. This is significant, because there has been no attention given to this side of the social and educational life of the white race in all of the Southern States.

These are the agencies set forth to battle with the ignorance of that race in Alabama and to bring it to higher levels. Let us give a comparison of the races in their growth toward literacy :

	Whites.	Blacks.
Of school age.....	399,275	328,024
Illiterate (per cent).....	9.9	40.1
In public schools.....	277,715	133,394
In high schools.....	16,040	1,476

These figures are for persons of ten years and above.

	Urban Negro.	Rural Negro.
Illiterate (per cent).....	17	43.5

	Whites between Six and Fourteen.	Negroes between Six and Fourteen.
Literate (per cent).....	81	60

In the eleven counties in the State where the negro inhabitants are equal to or more than three-fourths of the population forty-nine per cent of them between six and fourteen attend school. In the twenty-one counties where the whites constitute three-fourths of the population forty-nine per cent of the negroes are in school. In Macon County, where the Tuskegee Institute is located, illiteracy is at forty-three per

84 *The Negro as an Economic Factor in Alabama.*

cent, and white illiteracy is only 6.4 per cent there. The Black Belt counties exhibit the maximum of illiteracy among the black population and the maximum of literacy among the whites. The counties showing a small percentage of negroes show the maximum of illiteracy among the whites, but in every instance nearly three times as much illiteracy among the negroes as among the whites.²⁷

Lest the picture seem too dark, let us remember that

	1890.	1900.	1910.
Negroes not in school (per cent) . . .	69.1	57.4	40.1

In each decennium the females showed the greatest illiteracy.

To combat this condition there are 2,371 teachers for them in Alabama, 134 having life certificates, which were awarded after their holding the first-grade license for five years, 28 having the first-grade license, 544 having the second-grade license, and 1,665 having the third-grade certificate. Those holding life certificates are mostly of mixed stock—*i. e.*, mulatto and beyond middle life. Those teachers were from institutions within and without the State.²⁸ They are employed by contract for a term and not by the month, as is done with the whites. The male rural teacher (negro) receives \$157 for a term, while the male urban receives \$332 per term. The female (negro) receives \$137 per term, while the female urban teacher receives \$210. They receive much

²⁷See Thirteenth Census, Vol. I., p. 1136; Vol. II., p. 1299. 42 Pop.; also Vol. II., pp. 47-59.

²⁸W. F. Feagin, State Superintendent of Education in Alabama, by Questionnaire.

less of the State's money *per capita* than do the whites. There are only twenty-four days in a school year as an average for all the negro children of the State. So by actual computation it is seen that it requires twenty-four years for a negro to complete an elementary course if he should depend alone upon the average term of school and the appropriation made for the same.

There are two reasons why compulsory education and adequate school terms have not been ordered: The whites are by far the largest taxpayers, and they feel that they have the first and largest call on that fund for education; there has been but little money in the South to be expended as specials for education since the Civil War. There has been a struggle to build up the country from that depleted condition in which the people found themselves.

But the State must not consider her work of education as a work of charity nor even as an optional matter. She must educate her youth for her own safety and prosperity; education should be regarded not as a luxury, but as a necessity. The United States²⁹ spends each year \$500,000,000 more on the detection of crime and the suppression of same than upon charity, religion, and education combined.

Education will not bring all of the benefits to any part of the human family. The Greeks laid great stress on this point in educating their youths. We know that one may talk learnedly on virtue, as did Lorenzo de Medici, while he prosecutes the ways of

²⁹H. Münsterberg, *The South Mobilizing for Social Service*, p. 432.

vice. A knowledge of right will not insure that it will be practiced. But education can at least do this for the negro: it will give him a proper outlet for his individual gifts, putting him in the field where he is best fitted and drawing out his latent possibilities, and it will serve to increase his wants which make for a higher standard of living.

When we investigate the efficiency of the laborer, we find that the following elements conspire to make the laborer profitable:³⁰ (a) Inherited strength; (b) acquired knowledge, skill, and dexterity; (c) the social esteem in which the laborer is held. These conditions are interdependent, and a lack of intelligence must of necessity impair the general efficiency of the laborer. To deny every sort of training and education to the blacks is like denying food to the beast which is to carry the burden. So it appears that the great contribution which must be made to raise the economic efficiency of the negroes in Alabama is to get them through such courses as are offered at Tuskegee, Benson, Normal, Marion, and Miles Memorial College to raise their standards of wants. Then they will be morally and financially stronger and society itself more praiseworthy.

Vitally connected with education and possessions is the matter of disfranchisement. Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina, Louisiana and Alabama have disfranchised the negro. There is a very distinct gain to society by that act as well as a gain to the negro himself. The Alabama law, or rather the

³⁰C. J. Bullock, *Introduction to the Study of Economics*, Chapter V., p. 126.

Constitution as amended, requires that the voter must be able to read and write or to explain the Constitution if read to him, and must possess \$300 worth of property.³¹ It is reliable information that 213,293 negroes are of voting age, potentially able to vote, but it is estimated that not more than 3,000 have qualified by registering and paying the poll tax. Rather than pay this tax, many allow this right of suffrage to pass as being of less importance than the \$1.50. This people were not prepared to enter the full rights of citizenship when they came from bondage. The Federal government perpetrated an unpardonable offense against society in giving full powers to them so soon. They ought to have been required to have some other qualification than freedom. We do not permit children to vote, because they have no appreciation of the responsibility incumbent upon a citizen. While the South sinned in the name of humanity, the Federal government sinned in the name of liberty. Now the conditions have made it imperative that the voter must be both literate and the possessor of real or personal property. Both are within his reach, and both are calculated to spur him on toward competency.

The casual observer places no premium on the matter of wealth. Many regard it as something with which to furnish the satisfaction of immediate wants only. But economists clearly show that the whole superstructure of individual, national, and international influence and leadership is conditioned on a

³¹C. W. Chestnut, *The Negro Problem*, p. 86.

financial basis.³² While moralists claim that this is a false basis upon which to build national integrity, we know that wealth is the *sine qua non* of all good in life. An enumeration of the significance of wealth will be enough without elaboration to convince the inquiring mind of the diffusive influence of wealth.

(1) The rise of civilization of any people depends on the winning of wealth. A people cannot rise in the scale of culture until it accumulates enough to satisfy subsistence wants and has enough surplus to expend upon the higher things of life. Every successive advance from the primitive stage of migration and undeveloped political organization up to the highest known point of attainment has been determined by the method of increase in possessions.

(2) A study of economic history will reveal that national leadership has successively changed from Italy to Spain, from Spain to Holland, from Holland to France, from France to England, from England to Germany, and doubtless now the balance of economic power, coming as it is to the United States, will leave her as political leader of the world. The greatest growth in material well-being was noted as the dominant factor in the shifting of political leadership.

(3) When a nation has wealth it is not good for the nation if that wealth is concentrated. There must be a distribution, though not necessarily in equal amounts, for this would likewise be fatal to progress. All need as a minimum a competency; yet some

³²F. S. Baldwyn, Lectures in Economic History, classroom in B. U., 1913.

must have enough for enormous investments in factories, transportation facilities, etc.

(4) The political constitution of a people is aristocratic or democratic, according to the manner of distribution of wealth. Concentration lends itself to the former type of government. A more or less even distribution of wealth fits into the latter type.

This state of affairs is true within our nation so far as some of the larger cities are concerned; for while harbors were factors in determining the shipping interests, the surrounding country with agricultural or mining interests helped to change the position of many cities in the matter of growth, in population, and in influence. It is interesting to read how the cities on the Atlantic Seaboard had a shifting of position because some new kind of industry, some cheaper method of transportation, the discovery of some new mineral, etc., gave one city an economic advantage over another.

The progress of the Southern white is wrapped up in the achievements of the Southern black. It is a false theory that teaches that the negro should be kept penniless. The individual, whatever the color, who has capital is a factor in the production of wealth. Besides nature and labor, which form important methods to be used in production, the money which has been saved can be loaned or invested to secure producers' goods. The more money there is available for being used in the furtherance of production, the greater the benefit. Any class stands in its own way to progress when it deprives another class of the possibility of winning wealth. Failure of the one is inevitably to be shared by the other. Economic

progress or retrogression is a mutual affair. In a moral way it is most degrading and corrupting for any one to be, and so remain, penniless. It makes easily possible the sale of body and soul. A man of any color, creed, or calling who is destitute of material goods or who has no permanent attachments in the sense of a home cannot possibly be the citizen or father he ought to be. Selfhood is irretrievably connected with possessions. In the past the men of great patriotism were those who had homes to defend. Per contra, those who have not leisure sufficient in which to build up the waste material of body, much less the time to invigorate the mind and soul, cannot be moved by the great questions which stir society to the very center. Wealth is, then, an indispensable factor in the advancement of morality, in the development of patriotism, and an indispensable means of creating larger economic returns.

There are certain factors which determine whether the negro has, potentially or actually, economic efficiency. One is his physical ability, and the other is his inclination to exert this labor force. His willingness to work is determined by his wants, by the social status of the laborer, and the interests in work as conditioned by the system of labor employment or remuneration. In the past labor has been tested under many systems—viz., serfdom, time work, piece work, coöperation, profit-sharing, and gain-sharing. These have been tested by industrial societies in general. The negro has tested these for himself but little in Alabama. The last three enumerated forms of employment are not so widely applicable on farms, since the motive already exists in the mind of the laborer

which these methods are supposed to instill. To create wealth is one thing; to save wealth is another. In either case there must be a motive which impels the individual. His inclination to save is generally dependent on his ability to forecast the future, his capacity for enjoyment, the rate of interest secured, the security of the investment, family affection, hope of economic independence, and social ambition. All of these social facts are worthy of consideration. One of the first things needed in the rise and progress in the negro's economic life, both in order of time and of importance, is the creation or development of the forecasting ability. He does not look back to some golden age, nor does he look forward to some Utopian era. He simply does not look at all, as he follows his inclinations. One hopeful sign is to be noted in the 1910 census, however. There was in Alabama an increase of ownership in homes over the period ending in 1900.

"Many of the ex-slaves³³ acquired property, but scarcely any at the age of ten at the surrender did except as an inheritance." In Alabama it is difficult to verify this condition which Tillinghast estimates for the country at large, because the early census figures are found omitting such a count. The census of 1910 states that of the 110,443 negroes farming, 15 per cent owned their farms, while 84.5 per cent were tenants. There is an increase in the number of those buying farms which contain between twenty and forty acres. The white people own 16,000,000 acres, while the blacks own 4,750,000 acres.

³³Montgomery Advertiser, April 16, 1916.

The money that the blacks have as an investment is largely in land—to be specific, 69 per cent—and the remaining money is invested in buildings, farm implements, domestic animals, and other farm necessities. This gives the order in which the amount of investment comes. The order of the whites' investment is: Land, houses, domestic animals.

In Macon County negro farmers increased from 167 in 1900 to 421 in 1908, and they pay \$236.985 tax on 55,976 acres in that county.

In the State at large the negro holds his own very well so far as percentage in increase of wealth is concerned.

	1900.	1910.
All farm property.....	\$ 95,075,455	\$190,446,505
Land	49,134,093	106,940,798
Buildings	21,767,050	42,645,998
Machinery	5,106,250	9,819,496
Stock	19,068,062	31,040,213

This represents the growth of investments for the whites living in rural districts. The 1900-10 census on farm property gives the standing of the negro in the same lines of investment as follows:

	1900.	1910.
All farm property.....	\$ 9,103,345	\$22,506,427
Land	5,094,970	13,307,506
Buildings	1,549,340	3,977,996
Machinery	461,920	936,526
Stock	1,997,115	4,284,363

It will be evident from this that the rate of increase is greater by far if we consider only the percentage basis for the negro. But just what that means it is difficult to tell. The only gain in a large way is limited practically to the purchase of farm homes

and other homes. In the *Negro Yearbook* of 1913 there are listed on page 231 eight negro banks, but in 1916 there was only one left.

"Since the negro is in the midst of a highly-civilized people where he can learn much," says Washington, "it is a disadvantage that his progress is constantly compared with the progress of a people who have centuries of civilization, while the negro has been free only forty years."³⁴ We think, however, that it does not follow that slavery was the cause of the present backwardness. Slavery does not deprive a man of inborn gifts; it only makes limitations on the larger use of those gifts.

There was in Alabama in 1913 a total wealth of real and personal property given in at sixty per cent of its value, \$645,380,500. The income tax from individuals and corporations amounted to \$261,760. In 1913 the real and personal property was valued at \$576,807,488, and the income tax was \$218,628. We may fairly presume that the white persons chiefly paid the income tax. Negro possessions lie mainly in two directions—viz., in farms and in other homes. The negro is gaining in wealth, but not in proportion to the rate of increase by the whites. There is invested in the manufacture of cotton goods and in the iron and steel industries more than is invested by all negroes in Alabama for farms, buildings, machinery, and live stock put together. Negroes have no stock in these establishments just mentioned for manufacturing purposes. Then there are other large indus-

³⁴B. T. Washington, *The Story of the Negro*, Vol. II., p. 395.

tries owned and controlled by the whites whose capital ranges from \$4,732,077 to \$24,442,461. The stockholders of these likewise are whites.

To guess what the negro will do in the future would be only a guess. Thomas Jefferson said that it would be a thousand years before the region in the United States east of the Mississippi River would be settled. But we see that he was slightly mistaken. Lest we make a "slight" mistake in our calculation, we will not dare say what will be "the future of the negro race" in Alabama. If he continue to go to other sections of the country and enter new fields of industry, time alone can determine whether the results will be satisfactory or disastrous. If he remain in Alabama, a change in occupations will change his earning power more or less, for "time makes ancient good uncouth." Bishop Thirkield in an address before the working conference on the organic union of Methodism held at Northwestern University in 1916 said: "In my judgment Southern Methodism has never fully grasped the seriousness and possibilities of this problem because not organically related to the race in Church life and work."⁸⁵

This is a fairly accurate statement if we limit ourselves to the number who are really interested in that race in comparison with the number of those who are unconcerned. The interest seems to be very low. Harris Dixon tells this story in his lecture, "Foresight and Hindsight": A judge once visited a negro school and found a class studying Shakespeare's

⁸⁵W. P. Thirkield, *The Negro and Organic Union of Methodism*, 1916.

"Merchant of Venice." The judge asked a negro boy to relate the story in order to ascertain the degree of efficiency of the pupil. The student's reply was that he was not certain that he could give a good description of the story, but the best he could make out of it was this: "A white man and a Jew had a lawsuit about a pound of meat; the Jew won the suit, but the white man got the meat."

The white man entered the red man's land and drove him westward. The white man continued fighting and killing the Indian until there is now only a remnant of the tribes which formerly held undisputed sway over North America. The annals of fraud and bloodshed, misrepresentation and cruelty are not in keeping with the sense of liberty, fraternity, and equality of Christian America. The Anglo-Saxon is a conquering people, driving out nations with which they come in conflict. If peace and concord can be established and be made perpetual between the whites and the blacks, there will be a new chapter of history written. The majority of the wars which have been waged in the past have been for economic independence and economic freedom. This applies to national and intranational strife. The negro will possibly remain the favorite laboring class in Alabama as long as he remains economically profitable to the whites. It therefore behooves him to qualify himself for a larger earning capacity. What will happen if he fail and drift into a lower degree of inefficiency is purely a contingent question and cannot be answered. We do know that the European will soon swarm to our shores and ask for a share in the labor market of Alabama. The conflict in keener compe-

tition is inevitable, and now is the time for the negro to intrench wherever he can sustain himself.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood,
Leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
We must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures."

CHAPTER IX.

THE UPLIFTING AGENT.

HAVING reviewed the past history of the negroes, we may summarize as follows: Prior to the surrender of the Confederate army in 1865 negroes in Alabama were without personal or real property; they had no education above the elementary branches; they entered into freedom with no equipment further than good bodies and training in certain industries; their lack of capital and their inexperience in business affairs made them an easy prey of dishonest men; their accumulations to the present time are not commensurate with their numerical growth nor with the State's increase in wealth, which increase in capital from 1900-10 was \$100,000,000.¹ Their absence from an influential effect in economic affairs is largely due to an unpreparedness based on insufficient education.

It is impossible to forecast the future and to accurately determine what will be the state of the negro race for all time to come. Several successive events have transpired in the last ten years which show how impossible it is to determine the economic position of that race. The building of railroads, the opening of mines, the introduction of vast sawmill plants, and manufactories of various kinds have removed them from the farms. The boll weevil helped in the breaking up of the wholesale production of cotton and caused a more general adoption of small farms. This new order introduced the practice of crop rotation.

¹Nelson, Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encyclopedia, Vol. I., p. 123.

In 1916 labor agents were sent into the South to induce laborers, under the promise of high wages, to migrate to Northern and Eastern points. Industries engaged in making war and other materials were among the bidders. Being escorted by said agent, many of the laborers left the farms. But in 1917 crops were once more abundant and commanded such a high price that the farmer again became a most independent man. Again cotton was produced, to the surprise of all, without serious damage by reason of pests, and its market value was greater than it had been for forty years. This condition may or may not draw many workers back to the farm. Our problem is not affected, so far as the principle is concerned, in the migration of one-half or even of two-thirds of that race from the State. The number that do remain, whether great or small, should be sharers in the State's thrift and accumulations.

We have already described in full the position of negroes in the economic life of Alabama and have seen that they possess but little in proportion to their numbers. We have seen too that under intelligent superintendence, whether that of directing prisoners or farm laborers, they have become great factors in production. But their improvident spirit keeps them dependent, which is a serious hurt to society. This process of shiftlessness has been perpetuated and encouraged from year to year. Now, whether the negroes will remain farmers or will increasingly become other industrial workers, this thesis can be defended: Education will not only fit them for a richer and fuller life, but will enhance their forecasting ability, will raise their culture wants, and will supply the

means by which these wants may be secured. Potentially, the negroes in Alabama for the past fifty years have been important to the financial profit of certain industries. Unless some method is introduced which will break the present order of dependence, negroes will likely remain a liability to the State. We must look to education as an agent to help in raising the race toward economic independence.

No people with forty per cent of their number illiterate can be expected to win and to retain wealth or to direct their investments toward productive ends. Yes, education will elevate this forty per cent of subnormal people and will give the other sixty per cent a better chance in the "bread-and-butter" struggle. Education will give them opportunities hitherto unknown in applying scientific results in the matter of crop rotation, in the kind of fertilizer required by certain soils and plants, in an intelligent fight against the many insects that infest plant and animal life, and in making, saving, and investing capital. Thus they will be enabled to make greater productions on the farms with no larger outlay of expenditure than is made by them at the present time. The government is calling on every citizen to produce and save food because the whole world is hungry. Think what these workers could contribute to the world's food supply if they only had the necessary equipment!

If, then, education is the way out of their state of impotency, let us see what is being done to remove the static condition of their economic life. We make bold to assert that the State of Alabama has never seriously undertaken the education of her citizenship. The denominational colleges for the whites, as well

as the institutions receiving State aid, give courses leading to the A.B. and the B.S. degrees, and offer courses leading to the M.A. degree, but do not encourage students to pursue them because the number of students who apply for such work is so small that the cost to the institution does not justify the offer. There is no institution, whether Church, State, or independent, that offers a course higher than the master's degree. So it is not surprising to find that most of the professors in the University of Alabama, as well as the president of the university, are both born and educated in States other than Alabama. The conclusion from this is too obvious for elaboration. There are tenable reasons why the State has been dilatory in her educational work. There is a reason why she gave her first and best to the whites. But will past inability on the part of the State atone for present neglect?

In "An Educational Survey of Three Counties in Alabama"² it is shown that the State of Massachusetts has more money invested in sites, buildings, and equipment per child of school age (\$115) than have all of the following States taken together: North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas (\$112).

The Chancellor of Emory University, Bishop W. A. Candler, in "The Phenomenal Philanthropy of 1916" shows by itemized figures that the University of Chicago, Yale, Columbia, Harvard, Western Reserve, DePauw, Boston University, Lafayette

²Educational Survey, 1916, p. 121.

College, Smith College, Rutgers College, Amherst College, Bates College, Haverford College, Knox College, and Tufts College³ received \$7,000,000. Remember that these are the bequests of one year only. Some of these institutions are already the possessors of large endowments. Alabama included, there is not an institution in the whole South with a productive endowment above \$5,000,000. Alabama has about this sum in endowment, a large part of which is in land which is estimated to be rich in minerals. We will give this table to exhibit what is the real endowment of certain State universities in the South:⁴

University of Georgia.....	\$ 370,000
University of Tennessee.....	409,000
University of North Carolina.....	250,000
University of Mississippi.....	544,000
University of Virginia.....	400,000
University of Arkansas.....	130,000
University of Texas.....	2,080,000
University of Alabama.....	5,000,000

These facts seem to put Alabama easily in the lead, but the income from all sources is not as much above the average income as the endowment fund would appear to indicate.

Columbia University⁵ has a larger endowment than all of the universities in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Virginia,

³The Phenomenal Philanthropy of 1916, pp. 3-5.

⁴Nelson, Perpetual Loose-Leaf Encyclopedia, Vols. I., V., VIII., XI., XII., art. Universities.

⁵Figures secured from Nelson's Loose-Leaf Encyclopedia, Vol. III., p. 253.

whether they be under Church, State, or independent control. These facts show the serious handicap under which Southern institutions operate.

Let this be said in the matter of philanthropy, that the institution which has received the largest consideration in bequests and donations is the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute for negroes. The donations to colleges for whites has been inconsiderable.

The other point in regard to a lack of seriousness in education in Alabama is in reference to the negro race. It is commonly said that even if the negroes had good institutions of learning they could derive but little benefit from them, because negroes are naturally devoid of mental ability. The fact in the case is that no experiment has ever been made which will give expert testimony as to their mental capacity. Of course there are many among them that prefer the "laissez faire," just as there are many to be found among any other people who follow lines of least resistance. If, however, the test which was applied in Daniel's time were now given to negroes, the results might be the same. "And the king spake unto Ashpenaz the master of his eunuchs, that he should bring in certain of the children of Israel, even of the seed royal and of the nobles; youths in whom was no blemish, but well favored, and skillful in all wisdom, and cunning in knowledge, and understanding science, and such as had ability to stand in the king's palace; and that he should teach them the learning and the tongue of the Chaldeans."⁶ Some person who

⁶Bible, Daniel, Chapter I., verses 3 and 4.

is interested in this phase of the question should be induced to give some negroes a similar trial. Instead of giving his money to the Freedman's Aid Society or to some school for improvement in buildings, which means money to be spent in such a way as will be of a general good, let him select a few worthy, qualified, and aspiring youths and enable them to secure both a college and university education and afterwards permit them to have an opportunity to demonstrate what can be done by negroes prepared to be participants in the winning of wealth.

We already know what day laborers, renters, and what Adam Smith calls "artificers" can do. But these youths thus educated would be called upon to render an account of themselves in entirely new fields of endeavor. In the event that some should fail to become economic factors, that would not evidence the futility of education in its relation to economic possibility. As we do not make such arguments against the value of education for the whites, we should not urge them against the blacks. But, alas! regardless of the ability or inability of the State, let us see what are the actual conditions as they pertain to the elementary education of negroes. In three counties which lie in the northern, central, and southern parts of the State, Morgan, Macon, and Covington, the average salary of a negro rural teacher, which is paid from the State treasury, is \$131 per year, or about the amount received as wages in one month by a worker in the Ford Automobile Factory. The salary of an urban teacher is \$415 per year. In each of the counties mentioned above there is usually a small supplement given by the patrons. With this small

salary, which employs fifty-eight third-grade teachers, fifteen second-grade, and seven first-grade,⁷ we can see the esteem in which their education is now held. Any scheme to improve this condition will perhaps meet with resistance from legislators and appropriating committees. At present there is no likelihood that the State will make an appropriation commensurate to the needs of negro education. Some appropriation must be made by some hospitably-inclined person or persons or by some independent board like the Carnegie Institution. And if this institution of learning can fit negroes in Alabama for economic betterment, a service will have been done for hundreds of thousands of needy people. Then the State will be richer both in materials and men.

The elements mentioned in Chapter VII. which protract economic inefficiency are: Unreliability, shiftlessness, theft, narrow training, lack of independence, slow workers, the credit system, absence of family life, immorality, lack of initiative, the place of labor unions, and health. It is entirely possible to exhibit the effect of education in the case of any individual or community which may possess any or all of these elements of inefficiency. Though it is not necessary here to go into such minutia as will illustrate how education could eliminate each defect in his economic life, yet one example suffices to show the beneficent effect of education in eradicating certain evils which deter the economic progress of the race.

⁷An Educational Survey of Three Counties in Alabama, 1916, p. 73.

From the many counties let us select two in order to ascertain how negroes regarded industrial education in the form of home makers' clubs and what was really accomplished by the members of those clubs. In Pickens County, which is in the central west of the State, the population is about equally divided between negroes and whites. The Department of Education⁸ of 1916 shows that there were 336 negro girls enrolled in canning clubs, and the first year of the clubs' existence the girls preserved 22,203 quarts of fruits and vegetables. In Lowndes County, which is inhabited largely by negroes, a similar work was done. The same educational exhibit shows that this Black Belt county had 900 negro girls enrolled in canning clubs, who saved 56,000 quarts of fruit and vegetables. This splendid work inspired the County Superintendent of Education to say: "Communities having these clubs are more alive to the needs of their people and would on a careful survey of economic conditions show up much better because of these clubs. Not only the girls and women are touched by this uplifting movement, but the men as well."⁹ These clubs necessarily cultivate the spirit of independence, initiation, and thrift. The food thus saved gives abundant opportunity to furnish the table with a balanced ration, which good health demands. In like manner any of the points of weakness recited in Chapter VII. can be overcome by the application of the necessary means which industrial and other

⁸Home Makers' Clubs for Negro Girls in Alabama, 1916, p.

4.

⁹*Idem*, p. 15.

types of education now afford. Well-wishing will not eliminate the causes which render the negroes powerless in economic circles, nor will elaborate moralizing remove them. Why are not negroes buying liberty loan bonds? The echo answers. The agent which has elevated races in the past is education, and it stands to reason that it will not fail now if given a test. Who, then, will invest his earnings in such a work of constructive effort as will redeem a race? What Southern white man, who is acquainted with the negro character by reason of a lifelong contact, will relate himself to this uplifting agent in a degree of substantial friendship?

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